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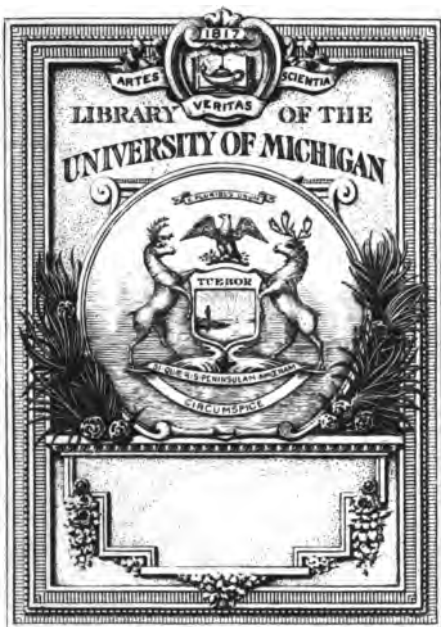
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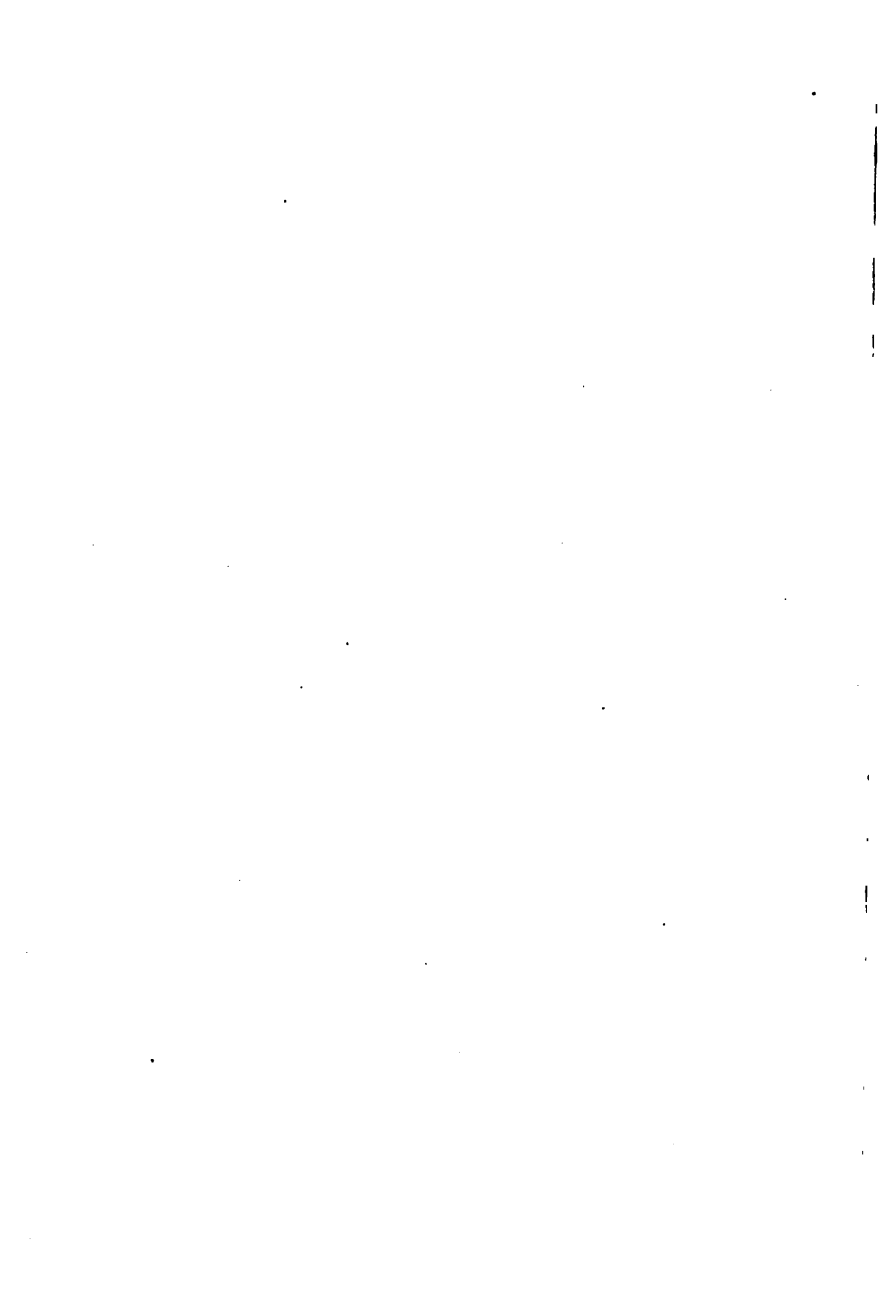
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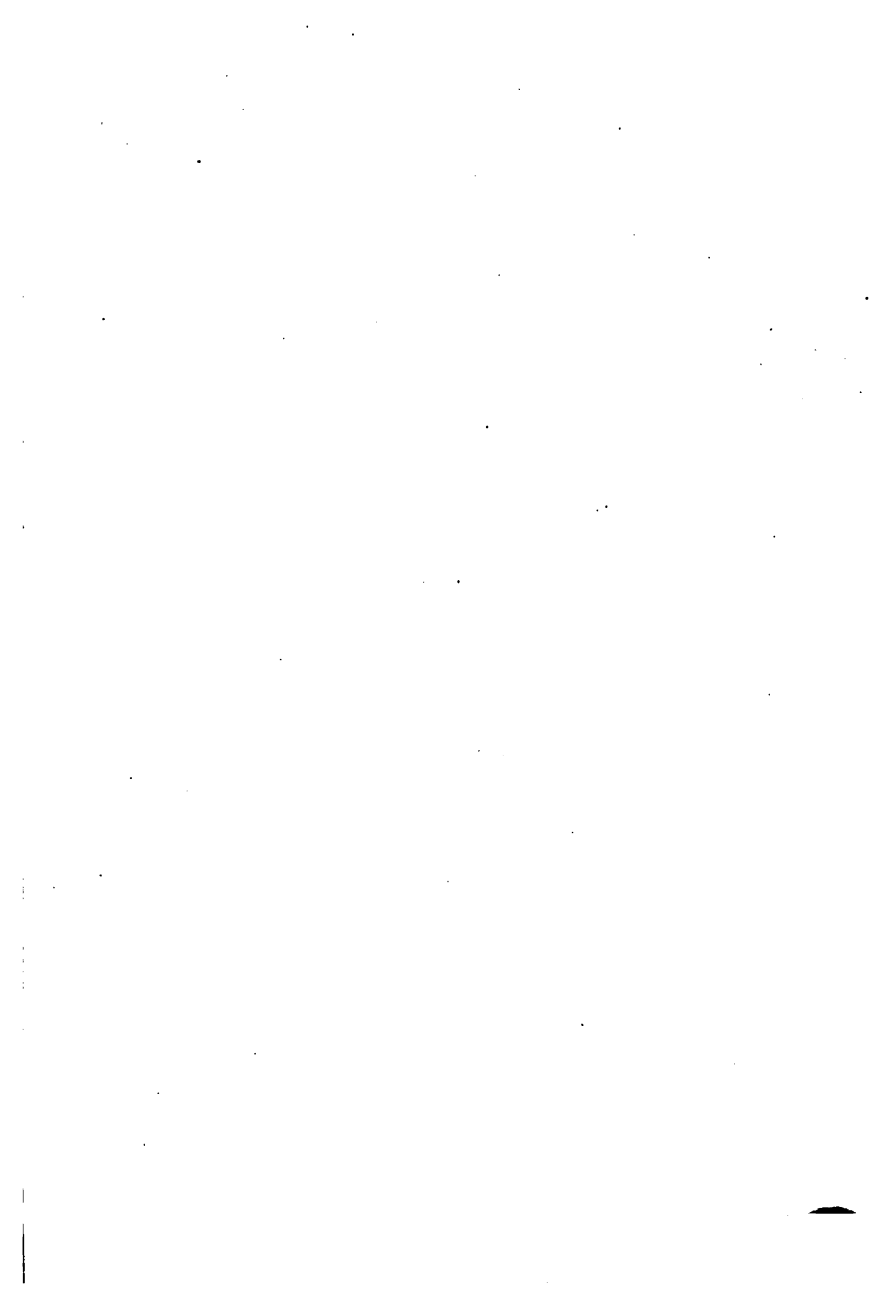
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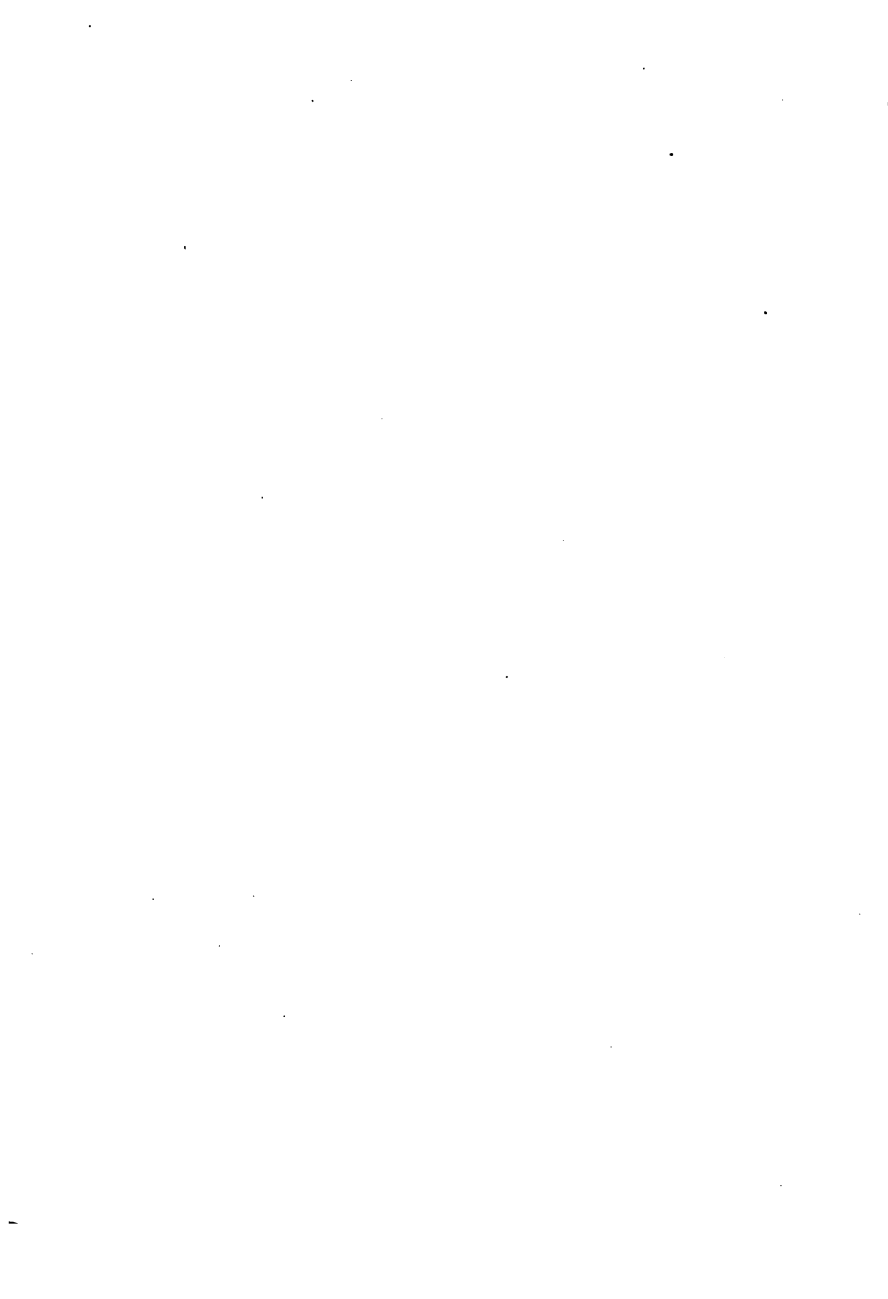
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**SECTION ONE**

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Humiliation of Louis the Pious at Soissons.

# **HISTORY**

OF THE

## **GERMAN PEOPLE**

**FROM THE FIRST AUTHENTIC  
ANNALS TO THE PRESENT TIME**

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### **VOLUME TWO**

**The Germanic Holy Roman Empire from the  
End of the Frankish Period to the  
Interregnum, 1256**

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Edited by  
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## THE MEDIEVAL EMPIRE

**W**ITH swift victor's hand, the Merovingians and Carolingians had concentrated into an empire, the West German peoples of the continent, besides the Romans, Romanized Germans, Basques, Celtic Bretons and Slavic tribes on the German eastern frontier. Thus did this monarchy unite many sorts of mutually conflicting nationalities; but it united also the dividing antitheses, which arose through the conflict of the idea of universal empire with that of local separatism. The German tribes contained in themselves potential unity. Not for long had they existed as such in their inner life; but, by this time, it had taken place, and they had created for themselves a strong feeling of unity and tribal kinship. Now, together with others, concerning whom it was practically a matter of indifference whether this was a Roman or that a German, according to later classification, and who, in any case, did not "belong to them," they were destined to be subjected to one and the same creation of force. While, from the olden days, they had been accustomed to reach decisions on their political procedure themselves, or, at least, to witness their accomplishment from close proximity, that great

empire was ruled by machinery, guided as if by invisible strings. And instead of more or less local strifes and struggles, which concerned the individual and were intelligible to him, there were the undertakings of masters dwelling afar off, actually seen but seldom by royal visitation. Aye, even abstract ideas which had become standardizing viewpoints, from which the individual man received commands concerning his duties and his conduct. That the people felt and thought thus, a ruler like Charlemagne knew. Most vigorously he strove, by his policy of care, to prevent such trains of ideas among the Bavarians and, at the same time, to show them, in his far-reaching aims, their own tribal interests. But naturally, even he was unable to pre-date by centuries the tempo of a whole national development. From the ninth to the thirteenth century, German history consists of the multiform conflict of all those uncompromising forces, and of the shifting groupings of four factors,—the empire, the German kingdom, tribal separatism and the Roman Church. The most substantial and enduring of these finally was the third factor, the separatism that clings to the earth and the ground, that separatism of the German people, who ripened only too slowly, to views of larger horizons and to conceptions of unity. A consciousness of nationality cannot yet be spoken of for a long time. We may never overlook the fact that, at first, there was not a

German nation, but that one has only subsequently so named that which has developed, (though generally, of course, even with historians, one forgets this subsequency, or is unconscious of it). They are concrete things, not to mention accidental events, which enmesh the ninth century tie, greeted later by us as national, as regards a part of the relatively closely related German tribes, and thereby make the kingdom, for the time, an actual "German" political unit. But as for Carlovingians, the Ottos, the Salians, the Hohenstaufens, whatever their thoughts may have striven after as the highest goal, yet their feet remained entangled in that mutual conflict of the tribes; and finally, through the fault of Frederick II, the victory of separatism and the loose juxtaposition of German territorial states resulted.



## CHAPTER I

### EMPEROR LOUIS I, "THE PIOUS"

**T**HE Emperor Louis I, who had his permanent residence in Aquitaine, was informed by messengers who had ridden night and day that Emperor Charlemagne had died at Aachen or Aix-la-Chapelle. He made arrangements for the funeral, gathered his troops together, and on the fifth day started, not hastily but slowly, and hesitatingly advanced towards Aix-la-Chapelle by way of Paris.

The hour had come for Louis to set the new, more worthy regimen in the place of the paternal, which had never been to his taste. But the surviving companions of his father were aware that the new ruler brought with him views of a complete transformation. Louis could anticipate open resistance at his succession, and a very large group actually thought of such action. Meanwhile, as his small retinue approached, not without anxiety, he finally entered Aix-la-Chapelle, where all in turn paid homage to him. Nevertheless, a number wished to have Louis taken into custody by prominent officials, in order to prevent him carrying out his intentions. There

were bloody frays between the powerful lords, with deaths on both sides, followed by the frightful punishment of blinding, which was shockingly common in his reign.

Full of honest zeal for moral improvement, the new emperor at once set about the work of reforming his court. It was a peculiarity of those times to over-strengthen expressions, and to exaggerate everything superlatively, in contrast to these days, when the official style is as correct and diplomatic as possible. Hence the court writers describe the conditions that had been abolished as of "monstrous lewdness." Not merely were the suspected female servants sent away, but the altogether too happy sister of Louis himself was forced to enter her cloister-appanage and become abbess. The Muses and the poets disappeared into obscurity, including the old lay broadswordsmen, and wholly new people surrounded and advised the emperor. One only found the way to his good graces and without loss of time attracted other men, who honored old subjects of derision; he was Einhard. Under Louis he had both his monasteries built at Michelstadt and Seligenstadt and the history of their relics written.

Capitularies and decrees swarmed after one another, in order to impress the world-philosophy and the earnestness of the emperor upon his subjects. And surely the Frankish kingdom had needed for

a long time a penetrating reform in many of its leaders. If his contemporaries had only not seen behind these measures and ordinances far less of the emperor's personality than of the unpopular person guiding him, for whom evidences of favor were frequently shown! Moreover, it was characteristic of the heads of households to draw their wills early. As far back as 817, Louis was urged to make a bequest which could result only in the interest of the clergy. If, subsequently, he had but placed his imperial crown in dependence upon them! In the year 813, he had become emperor, when Charlemagne, his father, crowned him; for that reason, too, Charlemagne was set upon recognition on the part of the Eastern Roman Empire because he would need no other legitimation for the Western Roman Empire. When, in 816, the newly-chosen Pope Stephen expressed the wish to meet Louis, the latter was highly delighted. Of course, an emperor did not travel to Rome for that purpose, but the pope came to Rheims. He brought with him a crown prepared by his own hands, and crowned the rejoicing emperor. In order to make a concession to the anti-Roman conception of the empire which had been emphasized by Charlemagne, that conception which needed no mediator, the crown was represented as that of Constantine the Great. Stephen V died as soon as he had concluded the journey to Rome; but, brief as it was, his pontificate has the

great distinction of having won back for the popes the right of coronation of the emperors.

It would be an error to assume the existence of a party in those days, either in favor of empire or of national kingdoms. History has only to show how the determining ideas and forces were set to work, and how they have been developed and mutually related throughout the centuries. Favoring universality and the imperial idea, comes first of all the high clergy. The Carlovingian rulers had always been the standard bearers in the extension of ecclesiastical power and the unified organization of the Church, culminating in the Roman See. A dissolution, or merely a more accentuated dispersion of the empire into its component demesnes, threatened that ecclesiastical universality and hierarchical unity the more because the latter was the young and by no means least fruit of the labors of Winfrid (Boniface). At the then existent establishment of the succession at the Diet of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, the Church triumphed over the traditional separatism and the opponents of universality by a compromise which, if not radical, was very favorable to it. The future stability of the united imperial power and of the empire was fixed as firmly as possible. The eldest son of Louis, Lothair, became joint emperor, and was destined to follow his father as emperor over the whole realm, though his brothers Pepin and Louis were also to be sovereigns in



individual parts of the empire, that is, kings under the imperial power, Pepin in Aquitaine, and Louis in Bavaria. It was settled through military interests as well as previous history to designate specifically these two important frontier domains. Both rulers were to present reports to the emperor annually, to discuss with him questions of common interest, and to acknowledge his suzerainty in the contemporary form of bringing gifts.

While, in 817, the claims inherited by birth from the ruling family could not be completely set aside, yet they were greatly curtailed, and another member of the royal household was treated with special severity. In 812, the son of King Pepin, deceased in 810, had been inducted into the government. Concerning him the imperial decree of 817 says nothing. The fact of this silence and his exclusion from the apportionment of the inheritance, was serious for him. To his anxiety was added the discontent in the realm, especially of the dignitaries of the western imperial districts. There was an uprising; but, having been started bunglingly, it suffered complete shipwreck. Bernard, favored with the commutation of blinding, died from the manner in which the punishment was executed. Lothair took possession of the government of Italy, emigrated thither in 822, and as soon as possible had himself crowned as joint emperor by the pope at Rome, Easter, 823.

In the condition of affairs, the decree of 817,

would have been in its principle the best, if it had only remained permanent. To break through and change it became the aim of a shrewd woman, driven no less by lust of power than by mother love.

The Empress Irmingard, a Frank by race, died in 818. Louis broke down utterly under his grief, lost manly firmness and no longer cared to be emperor. His advisers decided that a new marriage was the sovereign remedy in his case, and, as usual, he acquiesced. The leading families of the empire were induced to bring their daughters to court. If the annalist had called the occasion a court festival or something like that, instead of an "inspection," it would seem less indelicate to us. Louis would not have been the son of his father if he had not chosen the most beautiful of the group in the person of Judith, daughter of Count Welf, a lord with lands in Suabia and Bavaria, and of the Saxon Eigelwi. A few months after Irmingard's death, Judith became empress. She was energetic and cunning, and was destined like the Judith of the Old Testament to ruin the man whom her beauty tempted. So, for the first time, the house of the Welfs became an unlucky one for the empire. Four years after the marriage the empress gave birth to a child,—that Karl for whose sake the second half of the reign of Emperor Louis was broken into noisy domestic quarrels and citizens' wars.

For the preservation and increase of the authority

of the empire, the first period had accomplished only insignificant results. In the palace at Ingelheim, where Louis stayed most of the time, the wall paintings in which were depicted the deeds of Ninus, Cyrus, Alexander and Hannibal, with the likenesses of Constantine, Karl Martel, Pepin and Charlemagne brought in, looked down upon the new imperial ruler. Instead of carrying on a positive policy, one was lucky if some Danish petty noble and claimant to power, whose affairs had gone ill at home, did not come to the imperial court to be baptized and thereby, as he hoped, gain imperial assistance. Whole hosts of the Normans, seeking adventure along the coasts and sailing up the streams, appeared with annual regularity at Ingelheim, had themselves baptized and—what was the chief importance to them—laden with gifts. The Germans began to make merry over their emperor, with his joy concerning baptism. It is related, among other anecdotes, that once there appeared so many unexpected Normans that the garments held ready for baptism presents did not suffice, and several were given only poor, hastily-sewn clothes. Such a present was received by an old man who eyed it closely and then, full of deep disgust, spoke angrily to the emperor: "Twenty times I have now been here to have myself baptized and always received the best snow-white garments; but such a bag as this is fit for swineherds and not for a warrior."

Gladly did Louis escape completely from affairs, especially all uninteresting ones, while for days and weeks he withdrew into the great forests and spent his time hunting. Often, in this manner, he left the government crippled at most critical times. It troubled him little that his respect among the people suffered therefrom, as well as from the fact that, contrary to all German customs, he refused to be annoyed by the affairs and disputes among his subjects.

It became, therefore, simply the question of who mastered and subjected him,—the clergy or the Empress Judith. What she had planned for her son from his birth she began to set in operation as soon as, at the age of six years, he passed from infant to boy: that was to obtain a kingdom for him. As preliminary, in 829, Emperor Louis was required to transfer Alemannia to his youngest son, (with Alsace and Rætia), at the Diet at Worms. This would not have been inconsistent with the decree of 817. But everyone knew that it was only the beginning of Judith's plans, and people believed that Karl was destined to be emperor. Since the empress placed all offices of executive power in the hands of her suspiciously intimate friends, Louis, who formerly had been so much troubled about his father's court, endured rumors of the most frightful outrage upon his domestic honor, and it was even doubted by some whether Karl was actually his son.

The first insurrection broke out in 830. The universal unrest coincided with the fears of Lothair and Pepin. Through the victory of this uprising, Lothair became for a time regent of the empire, and relieved the emperor from office. On this occasion, the loyalty of the Germans and of the younger Louis, who required longer time for defection than did the Romans, made Judith actual victor and mistress of the situation. A new division increased Karl's future inheritance by the Frankish Rhine country and southern France. Since Pepin held Aquitaine, it had to be taken from him. Now, besides Pepin, his brother Louis II, "the German," also scented the common danger. Lothair, though always a man of changing principles, according to the prospects held out to him, could no longer mistake the far-reaching plans of Judith. So, in 833, the three elder brothers unitedly took the field against their father. On the *Rotfeld*, Alsace, near Colmar (it is believed that it was the "Rotleuble" between Neubreisach and the Ill; others look for it towards Sigolsheim), the two parties encamped opposite each other. But, instead of a battle following, the emperor's camp was emptied by wholesale desertion. Finally, on June 30, 833, the ruler sent away his last loyal followers to protect them from injury, and gave himself into the power of his sons. He was deposed and sent to Soissons, into the custody of a monastery, where he was forced to do penance before all

the people, confess a long list of sins that had been imputed to him, and then ungird his sword and lay it upon the altar. This ceremony, according to the conception of the time, signified that he had abdicated. Judith was sent to Italy to be imprisoned. Lothair took over the imperial government and dragged his dethroned father, surrounded by spies, around in his retinue, in order not to let him out of his sight.

In face of this behavior shame and sympathy took possession of the people. Already the Alsatian plain, which had seen such disgraceful desertion and perjury, was called the "field of lies." Louis II demanded more considerate treatment of his father and, when Lothair refused him, made alliance with Pepin. They both found strong support among the laymen, while the clergy presented his (Louis I's) cause anew to Lothair and, in 834, compelled the liberation and restoration of his father.

Thus, as soon as Judith returned, Karl's portion again became the question of the hour. Judith, from the trend of events, had perceived that the only practicable means at command was concurrence with the episcopate and with Lothair, under the condition that there should be no diminishing of his imperial power. The costs Louis and Pepin should bear. Their propensity for adherence to the existing settlements was embarrassing to Judith, for they had shown themselves plainly as the leading

thinkers, and were less to be feared as opponents. Preconcerted agreements were made and, in the year 833, as soon as the Carolingian of fifteen reached his majority, according to Ripuarian law, his father set upon his head a crown. This had previously been done only with emperors. Thus Karl was the first Frankish king who wore a crown as such, and there can be no doubt that his kingdom was designed to correspond with the innovation.

On the 13th of December, 838, Pepin died at Aquitaine. No one troubled himself concerning his two sons. In the spring of 839, all was prepared to announce at the Diet at Worms, in the beginning of June, the new organization of the empire. For Lothair and Karl, it was divided into halves. Only Bavaria was excepted, and this Louis was permitted to keep. Aflame with wrath over such treatment from his father and stepmother, he took up arms and seized the South German country, as far as the Rhine, as the portion rightfully belonging to him. When his father, however, marched against him with a host, he shrank in affright and retreated. The old emperor, advancing on this campaign, fell sick on Frankish territory in May, 840. He seemed to feel his approaching end and had himself brought by boat down the Main and the Rhine to the large islet which lay in sight of his favorite palace at the Palatinate, on the green pasture land at Ingelheim, still so named, where, earlier, he had liked to

dine with his hunting guests. Here, in the middle of the green, eddying, cooling stream, he lay ill several weeks and breathed his last on the 20th of June.

Louis the Pious was buried at Metz, in the Carlovingian monastery of St. Arnulf, where his body was laid to rest in an early Christian marble sarcophagus.

France, as is well known, took from the Germans many of the graves of their rulers. The sepulchers which the pillagers of Louis XIV left undesecrated only because they were already on French soil, the Revolution broke into, in order to scatter the bones of royalists. Louis' marble sarcophagus was sold and the purchaser broke it up, to convert its material into money.

It is severe, but we cannot say otherwise; Emperor Louis must bear alone all the blame for his misfortunes, because of his unfortunate weakness. Against this, his human virtues do not have any too much weight. Nearly all the medieval rulers before Frederick II were not less pious than he, and did far more for Christendom, its extension and its purification. His piety manifested itself in the fear of men and in abasement before a clergy whom he no longer "commanded," as did Charlemagne, but by whom he himself, in measures reforming the Church, humbly "had it promised" that his rules would be fulfilled. The praise of his piety, even among his contemporaries, was not without a taste of grim irony.



## CHAPTER II

### BREAK-UP OF THE CARLOVINGIAN EMPIRE

#### THE BROTHERS' WAR

**L**OTHAIR had become reigning emperor. The arrangement of 839, the last to which he had sworn, no longer pleased him, so he revived that of 817. By this means, he pushed Karl aside. There was already a state of war with Louis aside from this. However, he could hope to prove more than a match for the military resources of his brothers. First of all, he strove to keep the two apart, in order to win separate advantages over each. Judith was no longer considered. She had spoiled him much too long not to lose him in the end. In the year that the treaty was concluded, 843, she died.

In spite of all preceding events and of personal repugnance, the similarity of their situations was too evident not to force the brothers to union. Accordingly, they met, swore an oath of alliance, and recognized one another as equally entitled to be joint heirs in the empire. On the 25th of June, 841, a battle was fought at Fontenay, near Auxerre, in

which Lothair, who displayed the bravery of a lion, was defeated in spite of his superior forces. The field was white, said a poet, just as many geese pasture upon the stubble in autumn, so thick lay the slain warriors in their summer linen garments. Lothair found a new means of war by stirring up discontent in Saxony. There, in consequence of Charlemagne's measures, the petty nobles had become the special partisans and tools of the Frankish lords. Against them, and behind Louis' back, Lothair so aroused the free and unfree that they actually formed a peasants' league, called the "Stellinga," assailed the petty lords found in possession of offices, considered the Frankish rule as abolished, and speedily returned to paganism. Nevertheless, Louis was clever enough not to let himself be forced away from his chief opponent. On February 14, 842, he united his army with that of Karl at Strasbourg, where both once more publicly vowed alliance, and each took the oath so that the warriors of the other part could hear, Louis in French and Karl in German-Frankish. In the army with Karl was Nithard, son of Angilbert, distinguished as an honest, wise councilor of his king and as a valiant warrior, as well as an author and historian. He was an excellent representative of that lay culture established on a classic, antique and Christian foundation, for which Charlemagne had striven. He had labored to the taste of the great emperor in that,

in his four books of contemporary history, he regarded the "thiudiska" or vernacular language highly enough to incorporate the Strasburg Oath literally—the German text in Rhenish-Frankish, otherwise unquestionably according to the official version. In this way, he preserved for us a significant memorial of the contrasts in language then dividing the east and the west of France, which latter was already under foreign influence.

Then the brothers marched together against Lothair and drove him from the Rhenish districts, but they were unable to take from him his support in Burgundy and Italy. So they were satisfied when Lothair sent conciliating ambassadors and, for the sake of his imperial title, claimed only a third "or somewhat more" of the empire. There were several negotiations and meetings of the three brothers. His much-used, loyal confederate **Pepin**, son of Pepin, who had strong support in Aquitaine, was left by Lothair completely in the lurch.

In the preliminary arrangements, they omitted Italy from the general division, and assigned it to Lothair, Bavaria to Louis, and Aquitaine, in the future, to Karl. The remainder of the empire was valued according to its fiscal revenues, on the basis of a projected registration. This caused more than a year's delay. Meanwhile, Louis suppressed the revolt of the Stellings. Finally, in the beginning of August, 843, he was able to bring everything to a

conclusion by the treaty of Verdun. Louis received all the land east of the Aar and the Rhine, except Frisia; while, on the other hand, Spire, Worms and Mainz on the left of the Rhine, with the dioceses whose capitals they were, remained together. Karl received the west, which lay left of Rhone, the Saone, and a line drawn thence to the Scheldt. Lothair was given Italy, and the long strip from the Tyrrhenian Sea to the North Sea, besides Frisia. Hence, Rome and Aix-la-Chapelle both lay in the domains of the emperor. Only in a very nominal way did the idea of empire and the suzerainty of the emperor over the whole remain intact. In reality, the empire was simply a high-sounding title.

The treaty of Verdun does not deserve the prominence which has been given it, in the search for a stopping-place and dividing point. The imperial idea and clamor for division had been struggling for a long time and had reached other compromises before this. Moreover, it does not represent the end of divisions, but merely the transition to the new.

## CHAPTER III

### LOUIS THE GERMAN AND HIS SONS

**L**OUIS was an honest, morally blameless, valiant and prudent man, but he did not possess the creative ability to direct history into new paths. For the inner welding together of the German stem domains, he did nothing. The principle of division had prevailed so far, and since he did not think of pushing it aside, a new arrangement of his portion ensued.

It has already been stated why the thought did not and could not come to his contemporaries in any way that the majority of German-speaking people should be assembled under a government by themselves. People never, as yet, knew of "the Germans," but spoke only of a language which, in contrast to the learned Latin found in chancery usage, was the customary tongue of the people, "thiudisk"; but it was first one and then another dialect. People saw in the kingdom of Louis an addition of dominions, for which neither chanceries nor annalists, at that time, had a word to explain to those in Louis' dominion. As a rule, they remedied it by the expression "Bavaria" because that region,

as formerly, chiefly continued to give lodging to the king, and certainly remained the kernel of his portion. With the epithet "Germanicus," meaning of the German, Louis therefore came into historiography, though hardly among the people, to distinguish him from the others who bore his name. For, as there was still no fixed order of succession, they did not count the names of the regents and, in particular, were not aided by surnames until about the year 1000.

Next, the middle kingdom offered a drama of new divisions. Emperor Lothair died in 855, at the monastery of Prüm, near Trier, after a reign which showed considerable helplessness in the North against the Normans and in Italy against the Saracens, pressing in from North Africa and the country of the Mediterranean. His eldest son, Louis, who had already been crowned by the pope as emperor (afterwards Louis II), received Italy, Charles was awarded Provence and the Burgundian county of Lyons; and Lothair II the annexed northern Alemanno-Frankish-Frisian strips. Of these three brothers, Charles died first, in 863, without heirs, and the two survivors divided his dominion. Then Lothair II died, on the 8th of August, 869.

Of this king, who bequeathed to his dominion the name Lotaringia, or Lotringen, the most noteworthy trait was his wicked domestic life, which, it must be admitted, was not unusual with most

of the later Carolingians. In his case, however, it comes into prominence because of its effect upon general history. For the sake of an earlier love, born of a good house, Waldrada by name, Lothair put away his wife Teutberga, in the year 857, and took the former as wife and queen. Against him, the great Archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, defended the rights of the legitimate queen, while a portion of the Lotharingian clergy commended the separation and remarriage. A universally recognized co-operation of the Church in matrimonial affairs did not then exist, though from the earliest times the royal house was bound to such an arrangement, since Charlemagne had striven for and demanded it. In this situation, it was Pope Nicholas I (858-67) who, as a determined judge in his own absolute power, strong in the thought that he had morals and righteousness on his side, raised his hands against the Frankish king, subjected him to his masterful decision in favor of Teutberga and, at the same time, carried through his superior authority over the resisting Lotharingian clergy of both parties.

For this, the Frankish clergy had offered to the pope a powerful instrument. In the last days of Louis the Pious began the struggles of the clergy of the empire to free themselves from the dictatorial power of the secular authority, for which end even forgeries formed a means. About 827, a cleric

named Ansegus had prepared a considerable collection of genuine ecclesiastical decretals (authoritative decrees or orders). He wished thereby to create for the Church something similar to that which the laymen possessed in the individual tribal laws. For this collection Benedictus Levita, a native of Mainz, made a supplement, about 840, which wove together in a biased manner passages from church fathers, decisions of synods and, in addition, all sorts of forged materials, between the imperial capitularies. About the same time, perhaps in Le Mans, arose the "pseudo-Isidorian decretals," which were adduced on the side of the clergy at trials, about 850, in the kingdom of Charles the Bald. They were represented as a determinative collection of church laws that had existed long before, which a certain Isidore had assembled from the posthumous effects of the oldest and more recent popes. Their aim was to take from the crown the right of summoning ecclesiastical synods and the organizing of dioceses, to free the Church from that secular judicial power and instead, to place the judicial authority of the Church above that of laymen, even the most powerful. They found the means for all of this in the theoretical exaltation of that ecclesiastical apex,—the papacy. A copy of these pseudo-Isidorian decretals reached Rome and was immediately accredited there. Nicholas I recognized them as genuine in the year 864, and alleged that he had



the original copy in the papal archives. They remained a powerful support of the popes, especially since a layman of that time was in no position to recognize the forgery, much less to prove it and to hinder the papacy in its interpretation. Only humanistic scholarship, prepared with methods and criticism, began in the fifteenth century the demonstration of all the amazing anachronisms of which this forgery consists. But, the Frankish clergy were afraid when unexpectedly the Roman pope had these decretals in his hands. They had only made use of his name, and now he made use of them. Hincmar had wished to be Primate in Lothair's realm, as was the pope in Italy. The equal struggle against Lothair II and the bishops supporting him, then forced him also beneath the confederates, who stepped forward with higher authority. Hincmar refused the appeal to the alleged Isidore during his (Hincmar's) life, but the independence of the Frankish episcopate was lost. Since the time of Nicholas, the papacy has experienced much personal abasement, but that powerful pope created the solid basis for its claims to authority, when it was grasped by energetic hands.

The death of Lothair II without heirs would have made Emperor Louis II his successor. But difficult wars against the Saracens engaged the latter, and Louis the German as was supposed lay mortally ill in his palace at Regensburg, while his army con-

tested the field with the Slavs. This situation offered a highly-tempting opportunity for his brother, Charles "the Bald," as contemporaries had already named the West Frank king. Hincmar and his party had long perceived the desirability of magnifying the Roman western kingdom, and therefore encouraged Charles. He came and received homage. Then, contrary to expectation, the condition of Louis improved, and he could not permit such a balanced rearrangement, even if the fact was not considered that Lotharingia was, for the greatest part, German. At the same time, by quarrels among his Slavonic opponents, he freed his hands. Charles never loved decisions of arms, however, and showed himself open to negotiations.

This time of Old High-German poetry witnessed survivals of the genuine Old German type. Still suffering, having only hastily recovered, Louis marched out for his meeting with Charles. The building methods in the Middle Ages could not always have been good, for throughout those centuries fatal accidents from collapsing structures were frequently related. Similarly, when Louis the German was spending the night, on the above journey, at the manor of the royal domain at Flamersheim, (near Rheinbach), the balcony of the upper story collapsed with him and broke two of his ribs. Knowing his brother so well, he did not take to his bed, but kept the new injury secret, and did not

allow himself to be treated at all. Summoning his strength, he marched to Meerssen (not far from Maastricht) where, at the meeting from the 8th to the 10th of August, he carried through an acceptable compromise. Then he paid for the concealed hurt by a dangerous illness of two months' duration.

The treaty of Meerssen provided for the estate of Lothair, with the omission of the heirless emperor Louis II, who, lacking this, had not availed himself of his rights. The boundary of Louis' kingdom was advanced to the region north of Genf in the Jura, ran thence in a curve to the upper Marne, then to the Moselle and on through the Ardennes to Ourthe and Maas. To the north, in present Belgium, and the section situated west of this, which Charles had gained, still dwelt Frankish Germans. It is a noteworthy coincidence that in the same month one thousand years later, Germany was forced by France to draw again her sword in order to protect and rectify her western boundary. But the treaty of Meerssen had brief duration. Its importance lay in the fact that, after that time, there were not only two nationalities north of the Alps, but two kingdoms, one actually German, and one Roman-French.

Similar precedents were apparently designed to be repeated when, on the 12th of August, 875, Emperor Louis II died. Louis the German, as the elder uncle, would have been the designated succes-

sor, but Charles the Bald immediately started for Italy, and the pope crowned him emperor. Louis the German, however, who was on the point of giving military expression to his diplomatic steps, died on the 28th of August, 876. He was buried in the monastery of Lorsch, where his sarcophagus was still to be seen in the seventeenth century. Now, Charles the Bald hoped to steal the German portion of Lotharingia where, under Louis' sons,—Karlmann, Louis and Charles,—all was not at the best because of the rivalries for authority and succession. But hope deceived him. At Andernach on the Rhine, the younger Louis threw himself upon him with quickly-assembled Saxon, Thuringian and Frankish troops, and won a splendid victory against odds. In a silly panic, the French scampered off, abandoning an immense amount of merchandise and luxuries; which, it need not be said, were appropriated by the victors.

The three brothers now declared their alliance and made a division. Karlmann received Bavaria with its eastern annex, Louis the younger, who had married a Saxon,—Lutgard, daughter of Ludolf, father of the family of Ottos,—gained Franconia, Saxony and Frisia, and Charles (the Fat) secured Alemannia with its Rætian annex in the Alps. Lotharingia was provisionally to be governed jointly, and even the mastery of Italy was hoped for as the appropriate inheritance of this older line. Karlmann drove

Charles the Bald out of Italy in shameful flight and the latter died in 877. His son, Louis the Stammerer, was a more insignificant opponent and Karlmann succumbed to a fever. Both parties were then obliged to relinquish Italy itself. Far greater was the success of Louis the Younger, on the Lotharingian-West-Frankish battlefield, and in 879 France had to give up its portion received at Meerssen. The whole of Lotharingia beyond Virmen, or Verdun, to the Scheldt belonged now to the East Frankish or German government.

The rulers present in Italy, lacking the support of a sufficiently strong emperor, left it to the papacy, and the Saracens became very annoying in that region. John the VIII had, first of all, attached himself to un-Carlovingian candidates whom he wished to crown, but finally presented his best compliments to a German king hoping to retain his position. He found that when Karlmann was ill and broken after the Italian campaign of 877, Charles of Alemannia was ready, came thither in 880, took over the Italian government ceremoniously, and was crowned emperor in 881. In this way the imperial crown found still another bridge for the German kingdom.

Who could say into how many petty kingdoms Germany might have been broken up, if the succession of sons of the individual Carlovingians had continued in geometrical progression? Meanwhile,

as previously in the family of Lothair, there came a dwindling of the male line, furthered by accidents which carried away hopeful sons in their early years. Karlmann of Bavaria died at Otting on the 22d of March, 880, without legitimate heirs. He was buried there, where to-day the hearts of the Bavarian kings are entombed. Louis III, likewise without surviving heirs, died on the 20th of January, 882, at Frankfort, and was buried at Lorsch. Charles III was now lord of the whole German empire.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE NORMANS.

**A**SIDE from struggles, hindered in many ways, to establish the authority of the Frankish kingdom won from the Slavs in Mecklenburg and near the Elbe, from Saxony outward, and to extend from Bavaria over Moravia, Czechs and other southwestern Slavs, there was scarcely any other foreign policy of the Frankish empire. On the contrary, the Normans boldly pushed their usual raids from the North Sea far into both dominions, East and West France.

These "Northmen" were North Germans, Jutes and Danes, as well as Scandinavians from the other side of the Skager Rack, and their then numerous "sea kings" were the members of noble clans who, partly through family quarrels and vexation at their situation, partly through the great kingdom-building epoch in the North, grew tired of home.

The followers attaching themselves to them, outside of their retinue, were probably tempted partly by desire for adventure, travel and booty. Moreover, the spur of a scarcity of land had its effect, just

as we have said was the case with the ancient Germans. Their Wave-riders, Steeds of the Billows, and Dragons of the Sea, as they named their vessels with the same fancy that gave rise to the Germanic beast-decoration, were still open row-and-sail-jolly boats of varying capacity. Probably only the larger had coverings supplied by the old-fashioned, roof-like structure of wood or, at need, by an awning. Thus they ventured over the briny billows and, with most of the vessels, were also able to sail far up the rivers. They continued, with similar methods, the raiding voyages of the Franks and Saxons, who had formerly visited the Roman provinces with "constant oppression."

Many of their undertakings, especially those on the coasts of the Eastern Sea (the Baltic), are hidden in obscurity because of lack of authorities. Only occasionally does a ray of light fall, or a legend survive. Even from the early Merovingian period come shadowy, isolated pieces of news which have reference to them. The popular, poetic Gudrun theme is inserted in the experiences on the coast and, as soon as Frankish history writing, after centuries of aridity, sprang into renewed life,—that is, in the times of Charlemagne,—the Normans became well known to them. However, the citizen wars of the empire made them a frightful plague. Their bands landed almost annually; whatever had value,—furniture, metal, cattle, even human beings,—was gath-



ered in as plunder. If the booty could not be well handled, it was carried down to the coast. There the invaders took possession of the chief places and built some of them into strong cantonments. No locality could prevent a secure lodgment by them.

Whether the Normans preferred the West or the East Frankish kingdom, they regulated their actions by the looseness of matters in either neighborhood. Louis the Younger of France and Saxony fought doughtily against them, but was obliged to yield to the brilliant victory that was won at Saucourt by King Louis III of West Francia, the son of Louis the Stammerer. A monk of St. Armand, in northern France, close to the Belgian border, was inspired by this victory to write the "Song of Louis," in the Frankish tongue of the Rhine. This song is one of the most famous of the monuments of the Old High German language, because of its theme and its local origin. Misery was again turned towards Germany by the Normans. They came as far as Coblenz, to Treves, and even to the vicinity of Metz. The empire determined to make a decisive end of it, and secured the services of allies from Italy. In 882, a powerful army marched against the strong camp of the Normans at Elsloo, on the Maas. Unfortunately, Emperor Charles III had to be its leader. The people of the twelfth century attempted to make Charles' incapacity more impressive by giv-

ing to him the nickname, "the Fat." It is certain that he was a sick man, tortured by constant headaches and incapable of sound judgment at all times. It seems that he and his brother Karlmann had inherited the affliction from their mother. With splendid valor the Germans stormed the camp at Elslöo, but in the midst of victory experienced the burning humiliation of having an infamous treaty concluded with the Normans by their emperor, Charles. The invaders promised to withdraw upon receiving a large sum of money. Gnashing their teeth with impotent rage, the victors marched home, and the raids of the Normans ended for only a time.

In the year 882, the young king Louis III received a mortal injury in West Francia, when pursuing like a mad man a beautiful, honorable maiden on the streets of Tours. His brother Karlmann met his end in 884 through a hunting accident,—by no means an uncommon occurrence in the Middle Ages. There still survived from the family of Charles the Bald only a single child, a posthumous brother of the two kings named Charles, who later acquired the deserved nickname of "the Simple." The theoretical unity of empire and the scheme of a joint Carlovingian family government was not yet abandoned. More advisable than the kingship of this child, as it appeared to the influential personages in West Francia, was the policy of

recognizing the Carlovingian of the other line. This reunion under one head was less for the security of imperial rule than to unite all in a common cause against the Normans. These pests returned, year after year, as regularly as the peasant cut his grain and the fisherman sailed upon his voyage for herring. Without any special enthusiasm, Charles accepted the offered government of West Francia. From the very first he idled away his time in the country or in his possessions, while the Normans energetically besieged Paris, the most important city in West Francia. He abandoned all service and all fame to the Count of Paris, Odo, who held the city with heroic bravery in spite of its grievous sufferings. Personally aroused by Odo, who crept stealthily through the hostile ranks and back again, Charles marched against the enemy after many months of delay, but only to buy off the Normans again with gold, and to surrender Burgundy to them on condition of their leaving Paris alone.

After this shameless cowardice, the emperor sat down once more with his sorrows, in his favorite palace Bodman, after which the *Bodcn See* (Lake Constance) is called. If, according to the old German conception, bodily injury makes one incapable of serving as a ruler, then this pitiable man deserves sympathy more than censure. Of his illegitimate son, Bernard, whose succession Charles desired, no one wished to hear anything. On the other hand,

there was within reach an illegitimate son of Karlmann, Arnulf, to whom Carinthia had been assigned from the lands bordering on Bavaria. He had won distinction as commander-in-chief against the Moravians, as well as in the march upon Elslöo, where he led the *arriere-bann* of the Bavarians. Agreeing to depose Charles III, the East Frankish,—that is, the German magnates,—at Frankfort elevated Arnulf as king, his consent having been obtained. The choice was made, in the same manner that Witigis was selected against Theodad, and Pepin over the last of the Merovingians, because on the whole they could defend the kingdom only through the choice of a new king, from the available legitimate candidates. Through this means, election by the *grande*es entered into the history of the German kingdom, in place of the regular hereditary succession, not as a more influential but as a more significant method. Charles contented himself with sending to Arnulf, with reproaches, the relic on which the former had once sworn allegiance to him. This reproach deeply troubled the new ruler, but his emotions could not stay the course of events. Soon after, Charles agreed to renounce his claims to the throne, and asked only that some property in Alemannia be left to him. There he lived and brooded for two more months, at Neidingen (near Donaueschingen), on the melancholy, wintry plateau of the Baar, and died on the 13th of January, 888. Hatred did not follow

him to the tomb. The indignation against him was changed by his misfortune into sympathy. A vigorous man in his place, as undisputed lord and emperor in Germany, France and Italy, would have changed the course of history in western Europe.

## CHAPTER V

### ARNULF

THE Germans again had a kingdom of their own, and that they were not united under it was because of their common inclination and choice. The rebellion of Arnulf against the crowned emperor was at the same time a reaction of the laity under the episcopate and the imperial rule. There was no kind of ecclesiastical ceremony bound up with this change of the throne. Italy and France went their own ways and the electors of Arnulf had no thought of hindering them. In Italy there struggled for mastery, Margrave Berengar of Friaul, whose mother had been Gisela, daughter of Louis the Pious, and Duke Wido of Spoleto, an Austrasian Frank by birth. Both attained coronation as Lombard-Italian kings, Wido in 891 being honored as emperor by the pope. In 892, Wido's son was also made joint-emperor. In North and Middle France there was a revolt and in February, 888, Odo was crowned king. The first of his forefathers to come into the country had been Witichin. He was a Saxon and is expressly designated by the West-Frankish records as German (*advena natione Ger-*

*manus*). Accordingly, all the Capetians springing from Witichin, and their full line down to the Bourbons and the House of Orléans, were of German origin. In Provence, under Emperor Charles the Fat, Boso of Vienne had already secured an independent rule, which was now renewed under his son Louis. In Aquitaine, Duke Ramnolf came forward as ruler. In Upper Burgundy, between the Jura and the Pennine Alps, around the Lake of Geneva, Count Rudolph the Welf was chosen king, in January, 888. His grandfather was a brother of the Empress Judith. All these newly-made petty kings sooner or later recognized the formal overlordship of Arnulf, in part voluntarily, because of their need of support, and partly through force. He was even the Caroling, who still reigned and represented the ancient empire. Thus it was logically demonstrated that the imperial crown also rightfully belonged to Arnulf, as the only one entitled to it.

First of all, Arnulf brought a decisive end to the troubles from the Normans. In the year 891, while they were ravaging Lotharingia again, he threw himself with the armed levy of the Frankish kingdom upon their fortifications near Löwen, on the Dyle. The German Franks had already completed the transformation of their *arriere-bann* into an army of mounted knights. The plan proving impracticable, the knights dismounted and stormed the wall

of the camp, the king leading in a desperate struggle. Two of the sea-kings were taken, and fifteen North German standards captured and sent to the capital at Regensburg. It is to be regretted that nothing remains of them. After this, the Normans kept away from German territory. They still harried France, where had been conceded to them the section which has since been called Normandy in remembrance of them. During the ninth century, and especially the immediately succeeding centuries, they ravaged England, Scotland, and Ireland. They were known as Danes, and held in great dread. Finally, in 1066, England itself fell as booty into the possession of the Normans from Normandy.

Even under Emperor Charles III, an important Slavonic prince, Swatuplok or Zwentibald, ruled from Moravia outward over Czechs, Serbs and Slovaks, and kept German politics continually out of breath. As king, Arnulf had fought with him in 892 and 893. But only Swatuplok's death, in 894, brought relief and triumph to this frontier. For now his realm of force fell apart, and the Slavic peoples, again freed, recognized the German overlordship, which brought them a certain guarantee of actual independence. The same was done for Moravia, which had been divided between the two sons of Swatuplok.

Difficulties with various powerful laymen drove Arnulf to an alliance with the episcopate. In this



way, the revival of the imperial power made a most important gain.

## THE SLAVS

Arnulf went to Italy, stormed Rome, which Widios of Spoleto, widow of Engeltrud, held besieged for her son Lambert, and received coronation by the pope. But, instead of the imperial power, he brought from Italy merely the title and an attack of the excruciating headache that had prostrated his father and henceforth made helpless beyond remedy the physically well preserved son. Lambert came into Italy again and when, in 898, he perished while hunting, Berengar succeeded to the government. In France, when King Odo I died, in January, 898, Charles the Simple succeeded. He had already been elevated by one of the parties hostile to Odo, and no longer troubled himself about Arnulf's overlordship, as he was himself a Carolingian.

In the beginning, Arnulf had only illegitimate sons, of whom he made Swatuplok or Zwentibald, the godchild of the famous Moravian, under-king of Lorraine. In the year 893, a legitimate son (Louis) was born to him. The latter, when a six-year-old child, was regarded by the empire as the inevitable king, when apoplexy struck the sick emperor in the palace at Regensburg, in the year 899.

Many thought that a harmful drink had been handed to him, and a woman named Rudpurch was hanged under the suspicion of having administered it. Naturally, the mortally ill man gained naught from the quack medicines and white magic industriously practiced upon him.

On the 8th of December, 899, Arnulf died, and was buried at St. Emmerau, where, in 1642, his monument was destroyed by fire. Louis "the child" was possessor of the empire, and was the first German king who wore a crown as such. (Among the West Franks there had been a royal crown since Charles the Bald.) Meanwhile, Zwentibald had done all he could to bring scandal on his Lotharingian kingdom as well as upon the remaining Germans. Now, when his father no longer supported him, the Lotharingians thrust him aside and paid homage as immediate vassals to the child, thereby uniting themselves again to the other Germans. In the struggle against this revolt, Zwentibald perished, on the 13th of August, 900, and was buried in the convent of Suesteren. The worthless fellow in some strange fashion became a local saint.

## CHAPTER VI

### LOUIS THE CHILD

**I**T came about in the course of the last years of Arnulf, that the exercise of the governmental power fell to the high clergy. In the first line, it was to Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, who at the same time was incumbent and abbot of the monasteries of Reichenau and Weissenburg, and to the brilliant Bishop Salomo of Constance, abbot of St. Gall. Close to them stood Bishop Tuto, as diocesan of the capital, Regensburg, which, as under Louis the German, Karlmann and Arnulf, remained the special seat of government. They could, however, only oppose and not hinder the great lay families of that time from becoming more distinctly separated, and from laboring for their kindred and the achievement of separate independence. In Saxony soon after the treaty of Verdun, in the region of Quedlinburg, arose Ludolf, distinguished among the petty nobles by birth, personality, proven valor in war against the Slavs and his rich offices and East Salic possessions. He appeared as mediator between the crown and a number of the counties, and was designated as duke. Thus emerged for

the first time since the ruin of Tassilo, the honor and office of "stem-duke" in Germany. That this could take place and become a sort of necessity was not due to the fact that Louis the Pious had allowed the arrangement of the "missi" and their inspection districts, established by Charlemagne, to fall into decay. Ludolf, who was also the father-in-law of King Louis the Younger, died in 868; his son Brun, to whom Brunswick goes back, fell in 880, as leader of the Saxon levy against the Normans. Afterwards the second son, Otto "the Illustrious," assumed the rank of stem-chief and duke and, in 908, extended it over Thuringia, which needed annexation because of the grievous troubles in Hungary.

In Franconia a vicious struggle for supremacy was going on between the House of the Babenberger, (which was prominent and powerful in the far eastern district of East-Franconia and after whose main castle the town of Bamberg was named in later days), and the Konradines. The latter were related to the Carolingians whose seat of office and land possessions were located in the west, the region of the Lahn. In 906, the Konradines emerged victoriously from this struggle, principally because of the assistance received from Hattos. Since this success, Count Konrad, the head of the house of Konradines, was wont to call himself a duke. The peoples sympathized with the conquered

Babenbergs, whose last leader, Count Adelbert, had been beheaded, and wove their name into many friendly legends. For this reason, the younger generation of Babenberg, which later became prominent in Austria as margraves and dukes, were anxiously searching for a historical connection with the older house. This connection, however, seemed inconsistent. To a similar position of tribe or country sovereignty, Count Reginher rose in Lorraine. He was a man of great cunning, of whom it was said that he had helped the fox in the fable to the name of Re(g)inhart. From the same word the French derived *renard*, and the Low-Germans *reinecke*, all meaning fox. In Alemannia the Margrave Burchard of Ratien became prominent, as did Arnulf, the son of the brave Margrave Liutpold of the East-March, in Bavaria. Since 908, Arnulf had dared to assume the arrogant title "Duke by God's Grace." Thus it seemed that, after Franconia had begun, Germany was about to break apart into non-Carolingian provinces, whose constitution and form were born of their sense of clan and kinship.

The terrible ravages by the plundering Hungarian peoples have just been mentioned. The Normans continued to inflict a similar plague in those districts which previously had not or at most had only partly been devastated.

To the Finlandish-Ugrish group of the Ural-Altaic peoples belonged the Magyars, who on their

way northward, past the Black Sea, reached the west and circling far about, first appeared in 862, on the eastern German border. Not long before, their various tribes had for the first time politically united under the chief captain Arpad. In the year 895 or 896, they took possession of the low countries on both sides of the Theiss, which districts were only sparsely populated. These new arrivals were nomadic, had large herds of horses and cattle, were well trained riders and great warriors, skilled with spear, bow and arrow. The arrows consisted of two large oxhorns, tightly joined together over a wooden plug. The Germans connected with these nomadic peoples all narratives that had circulated concerning the Huns. In fact they frequently called them Huns and the name thus gradually changed from Ugrish to *Hungri* peoples. However, like the Gogs and Magogs, the Ugrish or *Hungri* tribes appeared to the ecclesiastical historians as those of whom it is said in the Bible: "They will come like the cloud which darkens the land, when the partition of the human race begins." While previously they had principally plundered Italy, they now directed their energies against the domain of Louis the Child. In 905, they destroyed the Moravian Grand Dukedom of the Swatuplok family. In 911, the destruction of a large part of the united Bavarian army occurred, as did the loss of the Pannonic East March, which had been created through

the Awaren war. The Enns, therefore, became again the boundary line, and the land from there on to the Leitha was a desolate waste. In 908, Thuringia suffered fearfully. It was the same with Alemannia in 909, and in 910, the wild tribes defeated the combined army of the united South German tribes on the Lech Field, near Augsburg. Their uniformly successful strategy lay in simulating flight, and when their enemies became disorganized, they would suddenly return and by fierce assault easily overcome the disordered pursuers. In 912, they annoyed Franconia and Thuringia; in 913, Bavaria and Alemannia; in 915, again Alemannia, including Franconia and Saxony; and in 917, again Alemannia. Men and old women were murdered, the younger women were tied together by their long hair and driven away between horses. Whatever the invaders coveted as booty and spoils was carried off by them. The farms were left in burning ruins.

During this time of terror King Louis died, on September 24, 911, just as he had outgrown his boyhood. The last records of him show that he was present on the battlefield of the Lechfeld, when the Ungar battle, in 910, was fought. Only the Carolingians now remained in Franconia. The German leaders had not without a definite object instituted and exercised the voting power in 887. They again saw its advisability and usefulness. Under the law

of succession of the West Franconians, they prohibited and prevented their reunion with the empire. Therefore, in order to be in a position to defeat the Great Franconian constitution, the German tribes were once more welded together. German history has had occasion more than once to regret the inauguration and existence of the franchise, and yet solely through it, the people became an entirely separated, self-contained and distinct nation.



## CHAPTER VII

### KONRAD I

**T**HE priesthood, under the guidance of Archbishop Hatto of Mainz, assumed charge of the vote for the next king. In November, 911, at the instigation of the leaders, excepting those from Lorraine who declined, they convened on Franconian soil at Forchheim. This town, which today is situated between Nürnberg and Bamberg, was well selected, not only for Bavarians who for generations had been monarchists, but for the Franconians. To them had belonged the dynasty up to that time. The spot was also convenient for the Saxonians and Thuringians without being too distant for the Alemanni. As a matter of conventional propriety, the crown was first offered to Otto of Saxonia, the oldest and most powerful duke, but he declined the honor in favor of Konrad, who was a Franconian, related to the Carolingians and an intimate friend of Hatto. Furthermore, he was specially eligible because he was not the most conspicuous candidate. Thus everything was apparently settled satisfactorily in the convention. Although a new dynasty began with Konrad, the one selected

suggested a continuation of the previous line. A sharp jealousy between the tribes, which seems a trait of the conservative German classes, had already appeared. To bring this to the front, was apparently the main object of Konrad's régime.

In vain did he try, when Otto the Excellent died in 912, to undermine the strong position of his successor Henry, who carried the majority. He also strove without success to regain Lorraine, which clung to the Carlovingsians of Franconia. Since in Alemannia and Suabia Burchard was conquered in 911, the actual sovereignty in the country was now transferred to the two brothers, Erchanger and Berthold. Their authority was above that of the counts, whose administration was regulated by officials sent out by the rulers and carried the title *Missi camerae*). The two brothers were probably descendants from the old Alemannish dukes, who lost their dukedom with Landfried. The Bishop Salomo of Constance and St. Gallen, who as the first ecclesiastical duke in the country represented the kingdom's party, was held captive for a long time. The son of Burchard, who bore his father's name, was among the followers. In vain King Konrad besieged their main point of support, the Twiel, from whose high basalt top it was possible to look far into the beautiful country of Hegau and into the western part of Lake Constance, on whose shore the steeples of

Bishop Salomo's ecclesiastical town arose. Arnulf of Bavaria was another follower, with whom in 913 they achieved a brilliant victory over the Hungri tribes.

It was of great advantage to the crown that under the tribes' particularism it was desirable to remain entirely to themselves and separated from all others,—in fact, to have no connection whatever with other tribes, and not to draw any more allies into the hostile union of the two South German peoples and their related leaders. In this crisis, the Episcopalian clergy, which had lost its leader through the death of Hatto in 913, came together again. In September, 916, a synod was called at Altheim in the Suabian Ries and was attended by the highest representatives of the clergy. This convention resembled the old time Reichstag which had not been held for a long period. Although there were scarcely any laymen present, this did not prevent the reaching of decisions on other important questions than solely of church and clergy interest.

This convention demanded the presence of the Suabian rulers, Erchanger and Berthold. They promptly appeared, principally perhaps to further the prestige of their country, but not expecting and not even prepared for what followed,—their sentence to lifelong cloister imprisonment because of their violent proceedings against Salomo. This at least was offered as the reason for the action. At

the opening of the year, in January, 917, an order was issued for the execution of both prisoners. Historical records covering this event are too meager to permit impartial judgment upon the proceedings. Burchard was regarded by the Suabians as their duke, and could not be hindered in any way by the clergy or the king. It is recognizable that the attitude of the prominent and powerful leaders—that is, non-church officers—was supported by the voice and vote of the broader class of people. This was perhaps because of pleasing remembrances and legends, in sympathy with the party opposed to the clergy or church which had brought the downfall of their kingdom. In accordance with their sentiment, the memory of the deceased Hatto was enveloped in a multitude of degrading and denunciatory narratives. The best known story is that of the Mouse Tower (*Mäuse-turm*). This structure in reality represents nothing more than a toll tower, and serves today as a lighthouse or signal station to facilitate navigation in the Benger Hole.

It would seem that the plundering Ungari, who still continued their outrageous attacks, would have caused all tribes to combine their forces into an allied army against this dreaded enemy, instead of each tribe, when it was attacked, conducting its own defense. But for such coöperation not only the necessary authority, as Konrad had represented it, but a greater, stricter domestic discipline was lack-

ing. This was the final conclusion which the king reached on his deathbed in 918. He left no heir, but had a brother named Eberhard, who might have continued the new Franconian dynasty and who doubtless would have been acceptable to the dukes. But Konrad's last will ordered the crown to be presented to Henry, purposely ignoring his brother's house, well aware as he was that he had neither the prowess, the authority, nor the strength which the royal position demanded. On December 23, Konrad died. By this last will the king, in his high sense of duty, did more for the continuance of his empire than was granted to this noble character to achieve during his lifetime. Of course, his act in itself did not definitely proclaim Henry king, but the bishops could not but realize that without a politically strong man, they were unequal to the task of sustaining and holding the monarchy together. What the empire had to be thankful for in their King Konrad was not only the demonstration of his thorough insight and willingness to sacrifice himself, but the removal of Eberhard's rights of inheritance to the throne, and the creation of a prominent, compact party for Henry, which had been greatly augmented by him.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE SAXON RULERS

#### HENRY I

**T**HE powers of opposition which had manifested themselves against Konrad I could hardly accept the mighty Duke Henry as their king. In consequence, only Franconian and Saxonian leaders appeared on the voting day, which, as had been decided, was to be held at Fritzlar in May, 919. Since with Henry the crown was to be transferred to a new clan or dynasty—another line—and Konrad's last decision could not give him the right of inheritance, Henry naturally had first to be elected. The right to vote for the election of a king, as it had been exercised in the choice of Arnulf and Konrad I by the principals or leaders, and sanctioned by the small proportion of the "people" who were present, was again secured in the new transfer to the house of the Ludolfingians.

Henry himself, of whom a much older legend says that he received the message while on the fowling floor, was willing to accept the crown, which was at this time offered more earnestly and urgently

than it had been tendered to his father in 911. His Saxonians were satisfied that now the kingdom was to come into their hands. A higher understanding of the duties in connection with this new condition did not prevail among either Saxonians or Franconians. The former, with a certain resigned heartiness like one who makes a sacrifice, were willing to accept the honor presented to them, but neither they nor any others realized the higher duties thus involved.

Henry was a man of tall figure and powerful physique, possessed of a quiet dignity, and wholly of Low German vein. He was gifted with the admirable art of ruling powerfully without drawing much attention to himself. In his first marriage, he had united with a beautiful widow, the daughter of a count of Hatheburg, who had land possessions in the region of Merseburg. This first wife bore Henry the son Thankmar. The Church had insisted that this marriage should be annulled, because the young widow had taken the veil and avowed herself to a cloister before marrying Henry. Although the Church succeeded in annulling the union, it did not secure the large land possessions of the young widow, since Henry held them for his son Hatheburg, and remained firm despite the remonstrances of the Church. In 909, he married the daughter of a Westphalian count, Mathilda, whose ancestry ran back to Widukind. Through this connection a

friendly relationship with the House of Ludolfingen was established, in the region of Engeria as well as in western Saxonia, and important land possessions acquired.

The coronation ceremonies, which the Archbishop of Mainz desired to perform, were declined by Henry for the reason that the feeling between the Church and his own party was strained. He said that he hoped his taking the crown would be sanctioned without the church ceremonies. Ecclesiastical historians and legend originators attributed this attitude of Henry to his modesty, but such an explanation gives a wrong opinion of his character.

The new king of the Germans began his herculean task,—to become in reality the German King; and to reestablish the immediate administrative powers of Karl the Great; to abolish again the dukedom of the tribes was of course impossible, for the reason that Henry's kingdom required the continued assistance of Duke Eberhard of Franconia. The prospects for transforming the dukes into officials of the crown were unpromising and Henry was by no means the man to insist upon attempting impossibilities. Each duke was an independent ruler in his own domain. He held court receptions for the members of his tribe, conducted foreign politics upon his own responsibility beyond the border line of the empire as originally set, and felt himself practically in the same position as the



Carlovingian king did in his parts of his kingdom. The only change of conditions Henry could work for was to aspire for recognition of his position as "*primus inter partes*," and to take up the leadership of a number of loosely united states. He could be king in the truest sense of the word only in Saxonia and Franconia.

Eberhard in Franconia recognized and acknowledged this position. Duke Burchard had won a brilliant victory in a war against the Alemanni in 919, under King Rudolf II, in the vicinity of Winterthur; but he did not dare to oppose the combined forces of Franconians and Saxonians, which were ready for war, though he acknowledged Henry as king. Henry permitted Burchard the continuance of the self-assumed title "Duke by God's Grace," but took away the Alemannic bishopric which they had garrisoned, thereby showing not only consideration for their opposition against the supreme power of a native lay duke, but a respect also for the rulership of the clergy. At the same time, he secured for himself leadership in military circles in these clergy districts. Fortune favored the king in a measure, for at Burchard's death, in 926, no eligible heir was available for immediate succession to the deceased. The king could, therefore, place a new duke over Suabia, and he chose Hermann of Franconia, a nephew of King Konrad I, and of Duke Eberhard. With this, the Saxonian

house of rulers commenced the system of nominating men who were close and friendly to the king's party and could be safely kept in far off districts, since their office and relation to the sovereign, as well as to their dukedom, warranted loyalty.

Henry began in 921 his most difficult task, that of securing the acknowledgment of the Bavarians. They were the most stubborn, the least receptive to newer and farther reaching ideas and entirely different from the Saxonians. As a tribe that was in its domestic life the most conservative in existence, it still adhered to the old Germanic ways. Even the ornaments which have been dug from the battle graveyards bear a much older design than that prevailing during these days among the other tribes. Duke Arnulf saw in Henry only a Saxonian who desired to deprive the Bavarian of his rulership and to put himself in his place. It was his wish to fight in duel with the "land-robber and thief of his rights." But when the two opposing tribes met, everything was adjusted satisfactorily. Arnulf acknowledged the king, retaining, however, ecclesiastical supremacy in Bavaria.

Lorraine, where, after Reginhar, his son Giselbert had followed, received substantial support in Franconia, but Duke Giselbert did not take his sovereign seriously, and desired to remain independent of both sides: he was completely "on the fence." Henry was not a bad politician and knew how to use to advan-

tage any weakness in those whom he desired to conquer. In 921, he achieved a success when the Carolingians acknowledged him, the Saxonian, as king of the East-Franconian Empire, and in 925 he succeeded in subjugating Gisibert in his politically isolated position.

The Hungarians had permitted Germany during the last years to recuperate from the plundering and devastating invasions which they had suffered, and had confined themselves more to Italy and Southern Franconia, but in 924 they returned from Franconia into Saxonia. Henry considered it fortunate that he succeeded in capturing a noble Hungarian of exalted rank, which enabled him to close a nine-year truce with the Hungarians under tributal conditions. The Saxonians were more exposed to the Hungarian hordes than the rest of the Germans. The army of the latter was without horses and, therefore, could not be used effectively against the invaders, while the conditions of the entire country, which was populated mostly by farmers, were such that no secure castles or points to which refuge could be taken from the approach of enemies existed. It was Henry's supreme effort to provide for both as quickly as possible.

As Karl Martel previously created a cavalry to meet the invading Saracens, so Henry now provided for mounted soldiers, because of the Magyars. He furnished them with breastplates and good weapons,

as well as protecting outfits. The arrows fired from the strong Hungarian bows had been highly dangerous to the German soldiers, whose superiority in hand-to-hand fighting, in which they were specially trained, was of no avail. Very speedily the young Saxonian peasants and farmers were, so to speak, remodeled from natural riders into cavalymen, who were well trained in military drill and tactics. The king further ordered several cloisters and seats of the bishop to be protected by stone walls. A large number of fortified castles, partly using already existing seats, were installed and a supply of corn provision was kept on hand. Every ninth man of the volunteer army was compelled to do service at these fortifications while the other eight were in the meantime attending to their farms. Through this service in the cavalry and the castles, the conditions of the working class became in Saxonia quite similar to those in Franconia, and the feudal system developed along the same lines as in Franconia. Moreover, it created an entirely new social condition and contributed vastly to the development of a general, spiritual and worldly rulership. Among these the sovereignty of the lands-duke and the king remained and developed as the most important of all. These changes did not take place all at once, and perhaps at that time were not even perceptible. In fact, they had not as yet brought conditions to the same stage of development as was

prevailing in the other territories during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The new castles were really the foundations for later cities in Saxonia and Thuringia, such as had stood in the region of the Rhine, as well as south of the Danube, since Roman times. City constitutions were developed only at a much later period, so in that sense, Henry I was not a city builder. In locating these castles at central points, he had in view the holding of meetings and court days within their walls, instead of in the old meeting places (*Malstätten*). In summoning conventions and conducting public affairs within these fortifications and castles, the authorities were brought into closer connection with the outside life, and the buildings rose to a greater importance than the ordinary castles and fortifications, whose purpose had heretofore been mainly to hold provisions.

After his new troops had been well trained, Henry used them principally for advances against the Slavs, and for the defenses on the North German east border.

From the Baltic to the Adriatic the invading Slavs had gained occupancy of territories, since the early period of the migration of the tribes. These lands nearly everywhere had been previously held by Germanic or East Germanic peoples. Generally, in the southern district, the Elbe and Saale constituted the border line. The Slavs, however, had already

passed beyond these and, as we know, settled in districts around the upper part of the river Mainz. Their constitution was far more ancient and much weaker than the Germans' and was, in fact, nothing more than a loose union of several small tribes. Aside from the specific Slavic forms, their condition closely resembled that of the Germans during the time of the Roman wars. They were described as a hardened people and were more frugal than the Germans ever had been. However, a singular softness and sentimentality, frequently a poetical strain, appeared in the race. They were, in general, rather inferior to the much more efficient and vigorous Germans. The Saxonian house of the Ludolfingians had from its earliest days been famous for its successful battles with the Slavs. Their earlier victories are lost in historical darkness. Henry now resumed on a very large scale the battles of the Saxonians along the border line, just as Karl the Great had previously made himself the advance-fighter of East Bavarian politics. Early in 928, in the depth of winter, Henry invaded the land of the Hevellers and, favored by the frost, garrisoned Brennabor, Brandenburg, one of the wall surrounded colonies in which the Slavs lived, far apart. Brandenburg, the main settlement of these Hevellers, or Havel people, was surrounded by well-watered, fertile, garden lands. Then he invaded the territory of the Daleminziers, which was situated at

the Mulde and Elbe Rivers. Here shortly afterwards on a rock on the shores of the Elbe, where lowlands and highlands meet, the castle Meissen was erected. In the north-east others were reared against the Obotrites; in the western part of Mecklenburg, further against the Redarians; and in the Strelitz district and south, against tribes of the Liutizes or Wilzes group. Here, several battles were fought and the united advancing opposition in 929 at Lenzen, situated on the Elbe, was completely defeated. In 932, the people of the Lausitz and the upper districts of the Spree, and in 934, the Wukraners, probably in the later Uker March, were overwhelmed, and in the meantime, the Czechs in Bohemia were crushed. Against the latter, the Bavarians at this time gave only trifling help. The importance of the new Saxonian kingdom became especially marked because previously the Bavarians had quite independently protected the German borders against the Bohemian-Moravian group. A magnificent success is recorded of Henry through the German politics in the East. In place of the endless subjugations and revolutions of the older tribes, the outcome of which had never been anything else than murder and destruction, victories were now achieved, which not only for the time were beneficial to all the people, but also left strong hope for future development. Similarly against the Danes the same results were accomplished. Since

the time of Louis the Pious, constant back-and-forth battles had been fought without any definite success on either side. In 934, Henry invaded the March Silesia, between the Eider and the Schlei, whose settlement by the Low Germans rapidly followed.

Meanwhile, more far-reaching events were occurring. The truce that the Hungarians had agreed upon was coming to an end at the beginning of the year 933. When the agents arrived to collect their tribute for the tenth time, Henry dismissed the callers without giving them any satisfaction. Thereupon, the people impatiently invaded Thuringia, early in the year, near "*Riada*" (probably Rietheburg near the Unstrut is meant). Henry opposed their leading tribes. The banner of the Archangel Michael was waved before him, as in all battles against the Slavs. It was now called "Michael's Banner," but it was Tiu-Sachsnot, the old God of War of their tribe, which in those times gave the Saxonians confidence and hope of victory. The meeting in March, 923, however, did not come to the issue of a real battle. With his well-trained cavalry, Henry used the same tactics and strategy that the Hungarians had employed: that is, after the first clash, he simulated flight and then suddenly wheeled and assailed the enemy who were chasing him. This was so unexpected by them that they fled in a wild panic. In the Pals at Merseburg, are pre-



served, by beautiful wall paintings, the memories of this Saxonian battle for liberty.

It is said that Henry intended to advance towards Rome, which would have meant a new connection with the kingdom of Arnulf, or at least with his Italian rights to the crown. This is not improbable, for Henry was not, like Arnulf during the latter part of his reign, the opposing layman that he was when offered the crown. It was impossible to do so, now that the German kingdom in its battle against particularism excluded itself entirely and continually from the assistance of the similarly-aiming Church. Henry had already shown his willingness to coöperate with that organization, by liberating the Alemannian episcopacy from the sovereignty of Duke Burchard. No definite preparations for an advance against Rome were made during the short time, in the year 934, that Henry's attention was free to be directed toward something besides defending his border line, and he was permitted to turn his thoughts against Rome. He died, on July 2, 936, at Memleben in the Golden Mead, and was interred at Quedlinburg, the chief city of his ancestry.

## CHAPTER IX

### OTTO THE GREAT

**W**HEN the end came in the quiet family Pals, Henry was surrounded only by his own people. He could well be satisfied with the achievements of his life, for he wisely provided for the empire as soon as he felt himself becoming seriously ill. During the convention which he had ordered to be held at Erfurt, his oldest son, Otto, borne him by Mathilda, was not definitely elected as his successor, but nevertheless he was acknowledged as such.

Otto was born in 912, and in accordance with Henry's wishes, he was married quite early to a Saxonian lady. His father himself had twice married into Saxonian houses. It would seem as if the old Germanic connubial restriction to marry only in one's own tribe, was strained by this union; but another feeling was created by Otto's marriage which caused considerable criticism. Though the son of King Henry married a Saxonian, she was not the daughter of a count. The old tribal relationship of the continental Saxonians and those of the Saxonians who had emigrated to Brittany, was

well preserved in the memories of the people. King Henry had made marriage offers to King Athelstane of England, whose ancestry originated from the Wessex (West Saxonia), and this sovereign promptly sent his two daughters, Edith (Eadgythe) and Elfgifa, for him to decide between. Edith was chosen and Magdeburg, with the lands pertaining to it, was assigned to her. The marriage was celebrated at Quedlinburg in 929. Otto was only twenty-four years of age when the responsibility of the whole empire fell upon his shoulders. He was a tall man of a strongly German type, and had blond hair. While officiating as ruler, he was stern, but in private life showed a sunny disposition. On the hunting grounds, where the medieval kings were alone permitted to be "humans," he usually sang some simple folksong. The royal look of his eyes, especially in his younger years, gave him an almost inapproachable air; nevertheless, he was very kind at heart, and those who remorsefully threw themselves at his feet were sure of forgiveness, no matter how aggravated their offense had been. The condescending and contemplative manner of his father was wholly lacking in the son. He could be quietly attentive during the development of certain matters, but as a rule, he was hasty and even irascible. His naturally receptive and responsive frame of mind was so strong that it expressed itself during his sleep, through constant talking. His step

and movements were quite short and quick during his younger days, but naturally became more deliberate in later life. Otto's original fitness for the high duties which he was destined to perform, was not only expressed through the far-reaching success of his rulership, but perhaps even more by the art with which throughout his life he selected the right person for the right place. He had the ability to develop these men to their utmost capacity. Otto's younger brother, Henry, was better liked by the people, but it is usually the case that the responsible party is not as amiably regarded as those upon whom no responsibilities rest. When Henry grew older and the cares of the dukedom of Bavaria devolved upon him, he remained no longer the favorite of the public, who found a new one in Rudolf, the son of Otto.

At first, Otto's successorship was acknowledged only by Saxonia and Franconia, who, so to speak, considered the empire as their affair, and who had alone taken part in the meeting at Erfurt. None the less, the opportune moment of Henry's death was used to reinstitute the monarchy in the empire. This could be brought about only through the medium of the vote, which formally took place. An order was issued, appointing a vote day for August 8, 936. The election was held at Aachen, in the Pals of Karl the Great. Through the selection alone of this town as well as by the subsequent actions,

connections were made with older affairs of the empire before its dismemberment. From the very first, the whole-hearted coöperation of the clergy was secured. As everything had been prepared, it was a splendidly attempted reëstablishment of the empire idea and a departure from the particularism, also, for those who adhered to the belief that the empire now belonged to the Saxonians.

The well-guided undertaking proved a complete success. Among the dukes of the entire empire, Otto was proposed for election by his father, and received a unanimous vote. On this occasion, he wore the Franconian, instead of the Saxonian garb. The Archbishop of Mainz anointed and crowned him. Then he took his seat on Karl's throne, which stood between two pillars of marble in the rotunda of the cathedral. It gave to the celebration an impressive aspect when, at the banquet which followed the ceremonies, the dukes assumed the royal offices of the Carlovingian Court. Giselbert of Lorraine acted as Lord High Chamberlain, Eberhard of Franconia, as Archserver, Herman of Suabia as Archbutler, Arnulf of Bavaria as Lord High Marshal. Such exalted court service Karl the Great had never possessed. The high officialdom of the rising dukes of the empire could not have been demonstrated more forcibly, but only too soon the necessity arose to put down insurrections in which even Otto's relatives took part.

The coronation day was celebrated with great ardor at Aachen. It would seem as if this enthusiasm had been somewhat exaggerated, and it developed later that it forecast disastrous consequences; for the Saxonians became so arrogant through the homage thus tendered to the king at the coronation, that they considered it beneath their dignity to continue paying their feudal duties. A certain Bruning who had thus provoked Eberhard of Franconia was punished by the devastation of his private properties. The peace-breaking despotism was again penalized by King Otto through the imposition of a fine of one hundred pounds of silver upon the old duke, which was to be paid in noble horses. His accomplices were subjected to the disgraceful punishment of carrying dogs (*Schimpfstrafe des Hundetragens.*) This occurrence left a lasting sting. In 937, Duke Arnulf died in Bavaria. His son Eberhard refused to do homage to the king, whom his deceased father had served as Lord High Marshal the year before. Eberhard had to be driven away by a military invasion of his domain, and the dukedom which had been under his control was given to Berthold, brother of the deceased, but with some restriction on his royal prerogative. Those of the church positions which Henry I had granted to Bavaria were now taken up by Otto, together with the dukedom. He further assigned the care of the imperial possessions to Arnulf's

young son, of the same name, conferring upon him the title of "Palsgrave." This Court-Knight office of the Carolingians was now renewed in the hands of the tribal dukedom, with the object of creating an internal power, competitive to the dukes. Such power was particularly unpleasant for them, since the dukes had been highly influential because of their administration of imperial possessions.

In the meantime, the conflicts and differences between the Saxonians and the Franconians continued. Finally Otto's brother, Thankmar, connected himself with the latter. His primogeniture had been sacrificed to the Church, which had pronounced the marriage of his parents imperfect and unjustified. While he had quietly consented to this turn of affairs, he became greatly irritated because of being cheated in his inheritance and overlooked, as he thought, when high positions were being filled. The continual discontent of others, for instance, of the Duke Eberhard of Franconia, incensed him to such an extent that he openly rebelled. He succeeded in making captive the younger brother Henry and incarcerated him in the Eresburg, as hostage. The Eresburg was taken by the king's men, and Thankmar fled into the church. His pursuers followed and, regardless of the sanctity of the place, struggled fiercely against him around the altar. While Thankmar still fought against overwhelming numbers, a spear thrown by one of the

king's men, coming from outside through the window into the small choir room, killed him. This quick and sad success of the king checked the spreading of the rebellion. Eberhard submitted and was shortly afterwards reinstated in his office, in 938.

The once faithful helper of the Saxonian kingdom was unable to combat all these troubles, but found in his other brother a helpful comrade and friend. He had had Henry with him when Thankmar was captured, and much passed between the two concerning the king. Henry could not free himself from the belief that when once the clan or family right was replaced by that of the individual, he, having been born at a time when the crown had been with the house of Ludolfingian, was the true heir of the kingdom rather than Otto, who was only a duke's son. It must be said in Henry's favor that primogeniture was not as definitely fixed in the creed of the Germans at that time as it is today. Thus Thankmar, although the oldest of the three brothers, had to stand aside without formalities of any kind, because of his inferior birth. It is easy to understand that Henry believed himself to have been treated with gross injustice. Being a favorite with all, he could readily hope to gain many followers, without counting upon Giselbert of Lorraine and Eberhard. At Saalfeld, where at the present day the Sorbon Castle reminds us of the old Thuringian wars waged against the Slavs, the



revolutionary party held their court day. It was not long before King Louis the Fourth, of Franconia, joined the organization. The Archbishop of Mainz and the Bishop of the Alsatian Strasbourg did the same, and the foundation of the kingdom, which once had seemed indestructible, weakened. Certainly, an ambitious prince of the Church would have had better hope of becoming the real leader of the empire, with Henry as king, than under the self-assured reign of Otto. The same ambition afterwards induced the Archbishops of Mainz more than once to take first stand among the revolutionists and rebels against the king. In the meantime Otto, by quickly traversing Alemannia, to the right of the Rhine, secured the dukedom, and the fidelity of Eberhard's nephew, Duke Herman. At Breisach, a well-fortified citadel located on a conical isolated rock, which was occupied by his antagonists, Otto's progress was checked. At this critical point, it was his good fortune to have the proverbial German discord break out among the rebels. Franconian counts, among them Konrad the Red, the ancestor of the later Franconian kaiser, deserted their duke for Otto's party. These attacked suddenly and surprised Giselbert and Eberhard, who had just crossed the Rhine with a small party of followers and were still separated from their army, which had remained on the left shore. The aged Eberhard fell while fighting; Giselbert fled and disappeared from an

overturning rowboat and was never seen thereafter. With this disaster, the conspirators considered their cause lost and submitted, and were reinstated under very favorable terms.

Perhaps Otto was too lenient with them. Again Henry, with a small group of conspirators, Frederick of Mainz once more among them, rose against Otto. It was their intention to capture the king during the celebration of Easter, which he wished to attend at Quedlinburg. It is possible that they meant to kill him, and proclaim Henry, king. The Saxonian, Franconian and Hohenstaufen rulers were wandering even more than the Carolingian kings from the interests of the empire and administration, whose imperial burdens they wished to apportion more evenly throughout the country.

The king's journey was announced beforehand, and information of the towns where he expected to spend Christmas, Easter and other holidays was given to the public some time in advance. It has happened, however, now and then that the annalist, despite his great care as to the journeys of the monarch, sometimes forgot to indicate in his annals that the latter had changed his route. Thus having what they believed was definite knowledge as to where the king would be at certain times, the conspirators decided to strike the fatal blow in the quiet town of Quedlinburg, where Otto presumably would have few men with him. Providentially their plot

failed. Again the king was lenient and ordered Henry to be confined at Ingelheim, a beautiful country seat.

The marplot soon made his escape, with the help of the clergy of Mainz. The dangerous unrest throughout the country now subsided to a marked degree. While Otto was celebrating Christmas in 941, in the Cathedral of Frankfort, a man in the garb of a penitent threw himself at his feet. He was Henry, who once more received forgiveness. Gratitude at last came to his heart and he devoted the remainder of his life to faithful service for Otto.

As Henry I by the appointment of Duke Herman in Suabia had taken the first step in replacing the tribal dukes with men who were closely attached to the empire or personally to the king, so Otto continued the same policy. He himself held Franconia in hand. Lorraine was assigned to Konrad the Red, who had private possessions in the vicinity of Worms and Speyer and also on the River Nahe, and Otto took him for a son-in-law. Suabia at Herman's death was given to Ludolf, Otto's own son, who was looked upon as the future king. When a vacancy occurred in Bavaria, he assigned it to his brother Henry, regardless of the fact that the heir of the deceased duke still lived. His son Henry married Judith, the daughter of the prior Duke Arnulf. In this manner, all the dukedoms were occupied by the king's family, with the exception

of Saxonia, where such an arrangement was the least necessary. There Otto had intrusted, at the beginning of his administration, the management of the war and the defense of the border against the Danes and Baltic Slavs, to Herman, of the House of Billungen. In 950, he formally gave him the ducal title, which remained for one and a half centuries with the Billungen House.

Like Herman, Margrave Gero stoutly maintained the authority of the empire over the Elbe Slavs, which Henry I had founded. It cannot be said that these people showed any feeling of attachment to the empire, as did some of the German tribes. It was continually necessary to use stern measures in these districts. The sovereignty which Henry I had gained, however, was maintained and strengthened, and made more secure by establishing March Districts and military borders. With the exception of the Wendic-Sorbic group of the West Slavs, the tribes were brought into closer connection with the empire.

Among the Czechs in Bohemia, Pshemyslide Bole-slav had murdered, in 936, his Christian brother Wenzel, the patron of Bohemia. For this fearful crime, he had to face trial before the German lord. The event permitted the latter to remove the other dukes of the Czechs and to develop further the Bohemian dukedom, which now rose only in a small degree to the status of the German duchies. Further-

more, the Germans for the first time came into touch with the Poles, the third West Slavic main folk. The Duke-in-Chief, so to speak, Mieczyslav, was subjugated in 962 by Gero, and took his title in fief from Otto, and paid feudal tributes. In 966, he was christened.

Gero died in 965 and was interred in the cloister of Gernrode, which had been founded on his family property, and was beautifully located at the north-eastern border of the Harz, at the foot of the Stutenberg. For many centuries the memory of this victor over the Slavs and upholder of the empire was celebrated in the tributes of the pope, and the Lay of the Nibelungs reminds us of him through "marcgrave Gere." His life work seemed at his death so secure and thoroughly complete that the dubious continuance of the great united territories with which he had been personally intrusted appeared dispensable. The empire was, therefore, subdivided into four single Marks or Marches. These were: The Saxonian North March (the present Altmark around Stendal;) the Saxonian East March or North-Thuringian March on the rivers Saale, Mulde and Elbe; the South Thuringian March, extending from the upper Saale to the Erz and Fichtel Mountains (the Osterland), and east of this the March Meissen. Besides these, there remained the March of the Billungen (to the right of the Elbe from East Holstein far into Mecklenburg;)

the Silesian March, and in the south, connected with Bavaria, the Austrian, Styrian and Carinthian Marches.

An invasion of the Silesian March was made by Harold Blatand (which means Blue-Tooth), the son of the Danish King Gorm, who had died in 936 a bitter foe of Christianity and of all German tribes. A saga tells us that when Otto personally led an expedition to avenge this invasion of Blatand, he traversed Jutland victoriously and threw his royal spear into the waves of the Limfjord, where up to the present day the far northern strait is called the "Odde" Sound. It is, of course, impossible to say how much of this saga is fact and how much is fiction. The eastern word "Odde" frequently occurs in Danish literature, as for example, in Gjedser Odde. At any rate, Otto established peace and Christianity in the north. Afterward, in 962, Harold Blatand himself succeeded to the empire and was christened.

All these were noteworthy achievements and not only added to German prestige, but foretold the expansion of the German empire in that direction. On the other hand, further successes were recorded in the west and south, due solely to the German superiority over the Roman, and they were therefore of imperialistic nature. It later developed that the Carlovingian crown of Franconia needed the protection of Saxony.

In Franconia the house of Witichin and Odo had periodically held and demanded the crown against that of the Carolingians. The son of Karl the Simple, Louis, had been compelled to spend his youth in exile in England. In 936, Hugo of Francia admitted this Louis (Transmarinus), Odo's brother's son, to the crown only to be in a position, however, to extend his own strength more easily and to become the real power behind the throne occupied by the weak youth. When this condition of the king and of the entirely too powerful vassal, who also entitled himself "Duke by God's Grace," reached a crisis, Otto interfered with a military movement in Louis' favor. It sounded very like ancient German obstinacy rather than Roman manners when Hugo sent word to Otto that he had never seen so many warriors united in one army as Otto was leading against him; that the Saxons were not cowardly people and could swallow seven of their miserable spears at once without any difficulty whatever. (The great-grandson of Witichin apparently did not remember that he himself was a Saxonian. Descendants of Germans who are successful in foreign countries seem to forget their origin with peculiar facility.) Otto replied that he had more straw hats with him than Hugo and his father had ever seen. Straw hats were part of the garb of the Saxonian men and women in times of peace, when working in the fields. The intima-

tion was that the imperial Saxonian did not consider this movement against Hugo as real war. Better even than a victorious military intervention, the results of which are never permanent, was the service of the Church in this crisis of imperial politics. In 948, at Ingelheim, a synod was called, which was attended by the German and Frankish episcopacy. The body requested the obedience of Hugo against Louis, and when a new synod was summoned at Trier which placed a ban upon the rebel, he submitted.

After the German emperors ceased giving any attention to Italy, the disturbances in those districts greatly increased, and were intensified by the kings of Burgundy.

Out of this rapid succession of events the following stand forth: Arnulf had been unable to prevent Lambert and later Berengar of Friaul from becoming rulers of Italy. Bosso's son Louis, king of Lower Burgundy, advanced against Berengar into Italy and, in 901, was proclaimed king. In 905, however, he was captured by Berengar, who blinded him and sent him back to Lower Burgundy. In 915, Berengar was crowned, in which honor all his rivals had preceded him. Then Rudolf II came from Upper Burgundy into Italy and secured the rulership through victory, during which Berengar was murdered, in 924. Irmengard of Ivrea, great-granddaughter of the Carlovingian Lothair II, who was



said to be gifted with all sorts of siren arts, desired to have her half-brother, Hugo of Arles (a count of Lower Burgundy), proclaimed king against Rudolf, and she succeeded in her scheme. Finally, in 934, an understanding was reached between the two parties. Hugo left Lower Burgundy, where he had lately possessed himself of the rulership, to Rudolf, so that only after that existed a united kingdom of Burgundy, because Rudolf resigned possession of Italy in Hugo's favor. King Rudolf II of Burgundy died in 937, and left two minor children, Konrad and Adelheid. To protect Burgundy's independence from Hugo's invasions and to guard young Konrad, the rulers of Burgundy placed him under the care of King Otto. This protectorship of the German empire over Burgundy continued even after Konrad had become of age.

Berengar of Ivrea in Italy revolted against his step-uncle Hugo, the son of Irmengar and grandchild of Berengar I, whereupon the Italians, faithful to their custom, rallied to the new applicant for the throne. However, Lotar, son of the deposed Hugo, succeeded after repeated efforts in obtaining general acknowledgment as legitimate king. Nevertheless Berengar retained the dominant position in the same manner that Hugo in Francia maintained it over Louis Transmarinus. When King Lotar died in 950 without heirs, and left behind him only

his young wife Adelheid, the above-mentioned daughter of Rudolf II of Burgundy, a new line of successors to the throne, other than the Margrave Berengar of Ivrea, arose.

Berengar and his wife Willa, the worst of all the wicked women in Italy at that time, had scarcely obtained the throne when they were confronted by the Lombards, who, instigated by their boundless avarice, threatened them. For this reason, Berengar endeavored to remove the central point around which the opposition gathered. Adelheid, the young widow of the king, was captured and incarcerated in a castle on Garda Lake. At this juncture the German king intervened.

Otto had already extended his protection over the young King Konrad of Burgundy and King Louis of Francia, and it followed as a matter of course that he also intervened in behalf of Konrad's sister in Italy. There might have been a personal reason which influenced the widower, who was only forty years old, to take this step. This, however, should not be accepted as proof that he had forgotten his first wife, who for five years had been reposing at Magdeburg, in the king's Pals which was intended as her *Wittum* (widow gift). So we only say it may have been personal sentiment which induced him to go to the assistance of the young Queen Adelheid. Her loveliness and, what was exceedingly rare in Italy at that time, her virtue,

were widely known throughout the land, even beyond the Alps. However, the main object of Otto's venture must have been dictated by other feelings. From the viewpoint of the successors of the older Carolingian line—Ludwig the German, Karl III and Arnulf—the conditions in Italy were wholly contrary to lawful procedure. The sovereignty there belonged to the German East Franconian crown. Right and honor demanded that the continued usurpation on the other side of the Alps should be brought to an end. That the majority of the empire ideas at that time were not opposed by any distinct thought of a self-contained Germany, had been proved by Otto's political administration in behalf of Francia and Burgundy. This drew the German king towards Lombardy and Rome. It had been part of the proposed plans of Henry I, which were not completed, although he had never been quite so strong as Otto I in his position as the head of the Occidental powers.

To renew any action along these lines was impossible because of the independence of the German dukes. Henry of Bavaria, Otto's brother, Ludolf of Suabia, and his son, were absorbed in their own politics and the conquest of the dukedoms on the other side. These stretched beyond the Alps, which bordered their empire on the south, that is, the immediately adjoining parts of Italy, and previously, Burchard I of Suabia had warred at first

with Rudolf II of Burgundy and later coöperated with him as ally in his Italian campaigns. It was the old independence of German dukes as under their previous separated administrations, except that it was now controlled by members of the king's family; and was the former manner of conducting independent politics and interests contrary to those of the empire. As a matter of fact, in spite of these methods on the part of the dukes the welfare of the whole empire was furthered. There was created among the various dukes a certain ambition to attain independent successes. Among them Henry and his nephew were the most formidable rivals, for Henry had traversed the districts of Old Mark Friaul and of Aquileja, and achieved notable victories. If Otto personally became the emperor of Italy, the hopes of Ludolf of Suabia in that direction would be ended. He, therefore, strove to anticipate Otto by descending with a hastily gathered army into the lowlands of Lombardy. If he succeeded in maintaining himself there and perhaps freeing Adelheid, his father would have to deal politically with him. Henry of Bavaria was well aware of this fact and his messengers rushed through Lombardy to dissuade the people from helping Ludolf in his undertaking. The outcome of his hurried start was a miserable failure. Sulen and embittered, he joined his angered father when he arrived, late in the summer of 951, on

Italian soil, and the Lombardian population followed the newly arisen rulers.

In the meantime, Adelheid escaped from her imprisonment on Garda Lake, pursued like a wild animal. Often hidden from her pursuers in the high corn fields she at last arrived at the Alpine castle, Canossa, not far from Reggio, where she was safe, having crossed the broad flatlands of Lombardy. Otto invited her, after having arrived at Pavia, to make him a call. Henry, Otto's brother, who had married the Bavarian Judith, carried the potent message. He was the first of the North German generation of kings that she had ever met. Adelheid consented. On this journey, when Henry conducted the charming widow-queen, with pompous following, to his awaiting brother, a sincere friendship was founded, which Henry and Otto ever after enjoyed. At Pavia, Adelheid became the German king's wife.

But Otto did not secure Italy by his marriage and there was no possibility of his doing so. Before this union he assumed Karl the Great's title (the one of 774) "King of the Franks and Lombards," or "King of the Franks and Italians," and retained it for a time. All his measures and actions showed his conviction that to the East Franconian crown belonged the old privileged right to the imperial crown; but Italy was entitled to this same honor. In order to receive it in the customary

form, the king sent emissaries to the city on the Tiber.

In Rome there had grown up a worldly state that was detached from the other part of Italy. The papacy, which under Nicholas I had laid the highest claim to the Occidental arbitership, lay deeply humiliated by the fetters of this small despotic state whose power was restricted almost to the limits of the town. Its actual exercise had been for generations in the hands of wicked women, such as Theodora the Elder, and her daughters Theodora and Marozia. They sometimes made their lovers and sometimes their sons popes, and they maintained themselves and their abandoned lives at Rome, against the different potentates of Italy, largely through their extravagant and manifold libertinism. As a consequence, almost all the parties connected with the developments that took place at that time were involved in the most complicated and tangled marital relationship with each other. Finally, the son of Marozia, Alberic, risen from the common "Pornocracy," by which this infamous Roman period is designated by historians, brought back the power to the male generation.

Alberic, lord of the city, called himself *Princeps*, *Patricius*, and *Senator* of Rome, and treated the popes even more domineeringly as mere figureheads than formerly did the women. With him Otto had

to deal. The able and brave man had driven King Hugo, who was one of Alberic's stepfathers, from the town when he made war in order to become emperor, and had refused the imperial crown from that time to all other pretenders. He did the same thing in the case of the emissaries of the German king who appeared at Rome. In consequence of these not quite unsurmountable but dilatory difficulties, Otto decided for the present to return home. Threatening war clouds had gathered on the other side of the Alps. Alberic died without having his free and lofty position impaired by anyone.

Ludolf had departed from the royal court at Pavia without leave immediately after the marriage of his father, and there were numerous other malcontents in Germany, some opposed to the king and some at enmity with Duke Henry of Bavaria. Archbishop Frederick of Mainz joined them again. The king now returned from Italy, and only after Duke Konrad of Lorraine made common cause with the malcontents did the rebellion break out openly.

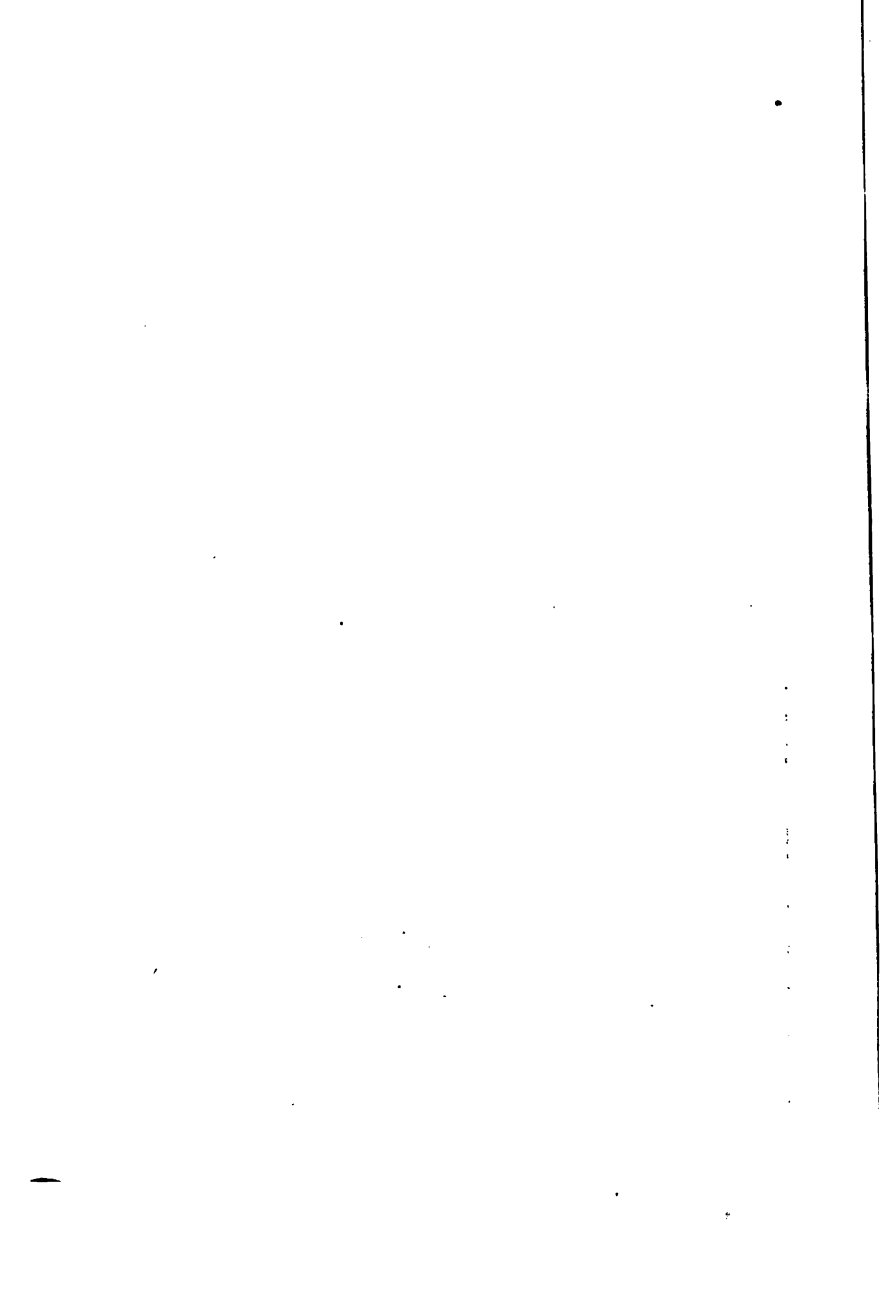
Otto had left the latter, his son-in-law and up to this time his most faithful servitor, in Italy, to deal with Berengar, who had been pushed aside but not conquered. Konrad, it seems, had made arrangements with Berengar and the latter's son, Adalbert, which went much further than Otto was

willing to believe, although he had not carried out his coronation as emperor, and his views regarding Italy. Only after the indifferent treatment which Berengar, who had appeared with Konrad before Otto, experienced at Magdeburg, did he receive, at a further diet at Augsburg, the government in Italy as feud from the hand of Otto. Thus he lost the old "Friaul,"—the Marches of Istria, Aquileja and Verona. With this restriction, the surrender of Italy was a renunciation of the position which Otto had insisted upon at Pavia. As for the latter, Konrad had done by far too much and thereby had "forced Otto's hand," but Konrad, on his part, did not see everything fulfilled that had been agreed upon. This caused sharp disappointment on both sides. Above all, a violent disagreement arose between Ludolf and Konrad as against Henry, with whose Bavarian dukedom the surrendered Italian Marches were united. Still, in 952, the rebellion led by the two dukes broke out and was the more dangerous, since it took place at the same time in Bavaria against Henry. Finally, in the third year of the civil war, in 954, the Hungarians invaded South Germany, and demand for help was again made upon Otto and the imperial power. The doubtful rôle which Ludolf and Konrad played at this invasion robbed them of the general personal sympathy which both, and especially Ludolf, had enjoyed. Towards the end of 954, the rebellion





**Dome of Speyer.**  
**Erected 1030-1061 by Konrad II., Henry III. and Henry IV.**



which had dragged onward for some time could be accepted as finished, and the repentant rebels were pardoned. But Ludolf did not again receive Suabia, which was given to Burchard II. He was probably (though it is not quite certain) a son of the older Duke Burchard of Suabia, but was in any case a son-in-law of Duke Henry, whose proud daughter Hedwig was his wife. Lorraine was not given back to Konrad, but was made into two ducal governmental districts which were headed by Otto's brother Brun, Archbishop of Cologne, one of the most excellent and superior men of his age. After that there was an Upper Lorraine at the Moselle and a Lower Lorraine at the Maas, separated by the Ardennes.

In the year 955 the Hungarians reappeared, penetrated as far as the Rhine and retreated again through Suabia towards Bavaria. At the Lech, where Alemannic and Suabian dialects were heard together, they began to lay siege to the City of Augsburg because of its important treasures, which they believed were in the bishop's large seat.

Bishop Ulrich (Uodalrich) of Augsburg (died 973) was one of the most popular characters of the days of the Saxon emperors. He was a Suabian, descended from the noble house of the counts of Dillingen. But while the bishops at that time lived luxuriously as grand seigneurs, his simple manhood did not care for such things. He was often satisfied

with bread and beer for supper, and slept, wrapped in his cloak, on a plain couch without cushions. To the whole diocese, his hard and uncomfortable wagon, drawn by oxen, in which he visited indefatigably the parishes and cloisters, was a familiar sight. At that time he experienced good days, while the clergy had to undergo rigid investigations as to whether they applied the Tithe of the Church revenues to the aid of the weak, the widows and orphans, and whether they were hospitable to traveling strangers, and visited the sick. The morals, especially those of the clergy, were closely looked into. Ulrich was by no means a zealot nor an ascetic, who was unfamiliar with worldly ways. He accomplished far more through his ordinary inquiries, than others did through inflicting severe penalties. Soon after he had taken over the bishopric, (923), which he held for fifty years, he began to erect powerful stone walls, instead of the old earthen walls and wooden ramparts, around the old Roman town. These he defended at the head of his men, like a trained commander-in-chief, when during the last rise against Otto the rebels attempted to capture the town, and he was not one whit discouraged, in 955, by the uncountable hordes of Hungarians who laid siege to the place.

With an army consisting of Franks, Suabians, Bavarians and Bohemians, Otto marched towards Augsburg. This time he left the Saxons at home.

Now, when it was imperative, as it was in 933 with Saxony, to free South Germany also from the Hungarians, he had a good opportunity to show what the monarchy could do with the non-Saxons. The Dukes Burchard and Baleslav were with the army, while Henry of Bavaria lay on his death-bed. Konrad the Red though no longer a duke was presented and allowed to command his Frankish countrymen, who had no duke of their own, but were with the crown. On the large, treeless plain of the Lech Field near Augsburg, which is today the manoeuvre field and artillery practice ground of the Bavarian army corps, the battle was fought, on the 10th of August, 955.

Again St. Michael's banner waved in the breeze before Otto and, therefore, before the other Germans. To Otto himself and Konrad the Red belongs the merit of this magnificent victory, through their fine generalship, displayed at the most critical moments. Konrad paid for his heroism with his life. He had just driven back a force of the enemy, who made an unforeseen flank movement before which the Bohemians fled, and had lifted for a moment the neck chains of his armor, because it was a very hot day in August, when a Hungarian arrow pierced the unprotected throat. Thus he atoned, through merit and death on the battlefield, for the rebellions in which he had taken part. It is strange to perceive again on this occasion the senti-

ments of the different tribes, when we are told that the Franks sincerely mourned his death. The sword was busy among the retreating Hungarians. Of those who escaped and fled pellmell towards Hungary, many were seized and slain by the infuriated Bavarian peasantry. The "Princes" who were captured on the Lech Field, were hanged after a brief court-martial as highway robbers, which in fact they were.

As with Arnulf and the Normans, Otto thus delivered Germany permanently from the Hungarian scourge. They were never so crushed and cut to pieces. The survivors abandoned their brigandage and became quiet peasant people. They began, with alacrity, to civilize themselves. Fifty years later Hungary had become a Christian kingdom.

The German victory made a profound impression throughout the civilized world. With the other peoples, Greeks and Saracens sent congratulations and magnificent presents. It was as if the time of Karl the Great had returned. The Germans gazed admiringly upon exhibits at the court of their king, such as they had never dreamed of before. "There were fine metal ware, exquisitely carved ivory work, lions, camels, ostriches, monkeys and birds of gorgeous plumage sent from far distant lands.

The rebellion of the princes, and the Hungarian invasion, were over. Otto now set to work to make impossible the former through a system which he

applied to Bruno of Cologne. He gave Mainz to his natural son William, whose mother was a captured slave. He frequently presented counties to the bishoprics for administration which, when they became free, he continued to hand over to persons of his near entourage. Basing the power of the government upon the Church, even after members of the royal house had proven themselves not fit for holding laymen's offices, Rome in its shadowy grandeur loomed up once more in the far horizon.

In Italy the circumstances were ripe for a new intervention. The conduct of Berengar and his son Adalbert made it necessary for Otto to send Ludolf thither in 957. He advanced successfully, but before he could accomplish anything, suddenly died.

Today it is hard to understand how the Germans of the Middle Ages died so quickly and in such vast numbers from unknown diseases. It seems that only after contact with the Italian fever bacillus throughout centuries, did the Germans acquire the power of effectively resisting many insidious forms of death. Tragic guilt has always fascinated the mind more than the hard fulfillment of duty. Just as Ludolf's personality and fate had gained for him the sympathy of the historians of those early days, the tales which were inherited from people to people spun lovable wreaths around his memory. Because of them, a park was later transferred to Ernest of

Suabia, which shows how tales often shift persons, time and place.

For a time Berengar was again allowed a free hand, and became, while at Toledo, a menace to the alderman and pope of Rome, John XII. Thereupon the latter summoned the master on the other side of the Alps, as had been the custom of the popes in such a situation since the time of Karl Martel, and Otto came. But before his departure, he had his and Adelheid's son, Otto II, "elected" king. He was crowned at Aachen on the 26th of May, 961. The election and crowning was accepted in Germany as indispensable. It was used to secure at the right time the dynastic succession for the royal house, and especially the succession of a single one for the whole empire. Thereupon Otto ordered the princes and soldiers who were to accompany him to assemble on the Lech Field, and thence marched over the Brenner into Italy. At Milan he took the Lombardic-Italian crown, which for similar reasons could no longer be ignored. In January, 962, he arrived before Rome and, on the 2d of February, Pope John crowned him and his high-born spouse with the imperial diadem.

The dead Alberic still carried the Lombardic-Germanic name of the Italian nobles. But this proud lord of the city of Rome christened his son Octavianus, just as he called himself in addition *Patricius*, with the ancient title of *Senator*. In



Octavianus the succession to the dominion over the city and the papacy were united, since he had taken St. Peter's chair as John XII. But the ecclesiastical dignity was a secondary matter with him and only a useful formality. There was little he could find to lower the pontifical dignity. It gave him only pleasure to jest about it. For instance, he would order a deacon to report at the stable to be ordained, or he would, surrounded by beautiful, laughing women, drink to the devil's love, and to Jove and Venus—or was it Wodan and Frija, about whom Paulus Diaconus tells us? At the same time he asked them to bring him good luck while throwing dice.

Thus the Empire of the Cæsars came into the possession of the German nation, without which the latter previously had to share its power, as under Karl the Great, with the Romanized Gauls. The Germans, at whose frontiers the World Empire of Octavianus Augustus had always been repulsed, had now become his heirs, and the new Octavianus at Rome was compelled to serve in this world-historical change as an ecclesiastical herald. For Otto renewed, on the 13th of February, 962, the old donation promises of the Carlovingians to the papal chair, on which the papal dominions had been founded. This action has been unjustly doubted, for in the first case Emperor Otto did not possess the scientific knowledge to criticise these older acts

and the pretensions through which they had been influenced. Furthermore, the favoritism shown to the papacy within the imperium only accorded with the system followed by Otto in the German empire, that was to invest the archbishoprics and the bishoprics with high offices and estates, as against the less dependable lay princes. Thus every power in Italy dependent on the empire was strengthened by Otto against Berengar and the latter's family. The supremacy of the emperor, his confirmation of the popes, his control of the papal administration, were his absolute prerogative. The pope, in turn, was again under obedience to the highest ecclesiastical prince and official of the empire, as he had been under Karl the Great.

John (Octavianus) understood this as soon as Otto had left Rome, and he was aware of the fact that he had driven out the devil, (in this case Berengar), through Beelzebub. He conspired with Berengar's son, Adalbert, and the Romans saw their papal prince inspecting the ramparts in resplendent armor and full of war enthusiasm. But as Otto turned back, John fled to the vicinity of the town. Otto called the jury of the synod, with himself as presiding judge, and demanded that the pope appear before the same and answer for himself. The latter gave the following answer: "We understand that it is only your intention to appoint another pope. If you carry this out, I shall excom-

municate you, in the name of Almighty God, in order that you shall not have the power to ordain him." Upon a second summons, the answer was returned that the pope had gone hunting with bow and arrow. Thereupon, he was deposed because of undignified behavior and of felony, since he had broken his faith to the emperor. Then Otto allowed the synod to choose a new pope, just as he had permitted the clergy of the bishoprics free choice when he himself renounced a simple appointment. A man of good moral character, Leo VII, was elected.

In the meantime, Berengar and Willa were made prisoners and banished to Babenberg Castle in Germany. Adalbert drifted hither and thither, but found assistance nowhere. The Roman ladies, however, did not like to see John an exile and, through united disgraceful efforts, secured his return. Matters went so far that Otto had to bombard the walls of the historical old city. Owing to his craving for sinful excesses, John XII, who had wrongly resumed his reign, died miserably. Otto pardoned Rome magnanimously and thereupon returned to Germany. When soon afterwards, the Romans drove out the successor of Leo VIII, John XIII, who acted determinedly in trying to carry out the instructions of his imperial master, and in upholding the empire's authority against local Roman resistance, Otto tired of his conciliatory policy

towards his new subjects and, returning to Italy in 966, enforced with cruel severity obedience in the city on the Tiber.

The principal event attending Otto's third trip to Rome and a long sojourn in Italy (966-72), was the marriage of Theophano, daughter of the Greek emperor, to Otto's future successor, King Otto III, who, in 967, was raised to the dignity of assistant emperor and crowned as such. Otto desired this alliance because Greece still ruled Lower Italy and through this connection he expected to maintain peaceful relations between the two empires in Italy. However, in the face of all probable difficulties, he was determined to conquer Lower Italy by force of arms, if peace could not be maintained otherwise. After evading the issue many times and even after frequent insults, which the proud court of Byzantium did not spare the German "king" and his ambassador, a new Greek emperor yielded and sent the bride, his niece. In April, 972, the wedding took place at Rome amidst rejoicings of the humbled populace. At the same time equal rights of the two, imperial dynasties were acknowledged at Byzantium.

Another result of this third expedition was that Otto agreed with the pope, over the heads of the German bishopric, to found a new archbishopric at Magdeburg (968). This shut off the older church provinces from extending further to the east, and

they, particularly that of Mainz, resisted stubbornly. Otto desired the Church's assistance in holding and Germanizing the Slavic East under the leadership of his own Metropolitan See in East Germany. To further this national and Saxon project, which was close to his heart, he had to change into a new arch monastery the old boundary market on the river Elbe, where Editha was buried and where he previously had founded a convent in honor of St. Mauritius and was indefatigable in carrying out this plan. Its decisive success proved the value of the close connection existing between the empire and its highest bishop at Rome, who was the head of all the others.

After returning from Italy, in 973, Otto celebrated Easter at Quedlinburg. For a long time he had been called Otto the Great and, as was the case after his victory in Hungary, he was congratulated by other peoples and nations, including Danes, Hungarians, Russians and again the Saracens of North Africa. Among the princes of the empire were Boleslav of Bohemia and the sons of Mieczyslaw of Poland. The splendor of this Easter celebration reflected the new empire's prominent position in Europe, and the extent of its authority to Apulian Greece in the south and Russia in the east. Otto was permitted to close his reign at the very height of power. During the festivities he was informed that Herman Billung had died on the 27th of March,

and the news affected him deeply. Previously he had lost by death Gero, Henry of Bavaria, Konrad the Red, Ludolf, Bruno of Cologne, William of Mainz, besides many others of his next of kin and best friends. He felt lonesome and tired, and considered his own work done. To celebrate Whitsuntide he started for Memleben, where his father had died, and on May 7, 973, Otto the Great breathed his last in the same place. Magdeburg was his favorite residence and there he was buried, beside Edith.

The reign of Otto I was called Saxony's golden period. It must not be thought that he cared for Saxony only, but during that period Lower Germany grew strong to the north and east, developed its native resources (the silver mines of the Harz Mountains were discovered), and started to cultivate a mutually beneficial exchange of ideas with the other parts of Germany. That the emperor was a native of Saxony was never so fully realized by the people under his successors as it was under Otto I, who wore homemade clothes and, throughout Germany, in quiet dignity continued to speak the old Saxon dialect. For a long time afterwards, people in the city of Regensburg talked about a toast pronounced in Low German by the great ruler, who was there temporarily, of which the Bavarian guests of the duke did not understand a single word. Otto knew how to combine this consistency in his

demeanor with monarchical care for his people. While Saxons were proud to claim him as their countryman, his other subjects decades ago ceased to regard him as a Saxon but rather as the active ruler and father of them all.

## CHAPTER X

### OTTO II

**I**N appearance, Otto II lacked the bulky stateliness of his father and the good looks of the slender Ludolf, whose mother was the Anglo-Saxon Edith. While of more delicate build, he had the paternal temperament and was the incarnation of courage, which he displayed more ostentatiously because his figure was not impressive. On account of his florid complexion, he became known as Otto the Red.

His government, thanks to the rigorous wisdom of Otto I and to the measures taken by him since 954, had no great, or at least no serious trouble with the dukes. In Bavaria, where Henry died in 955, his widow Judith, a woman of marked individuality, whose father was an Arnulfingian duke, reigned by consent of Otto I in the name of her minor son Henry. In Suabia towards the end of 973, not long after the death of Otto I, Burchard II passed away. He left no children, but his widow, Hedwig, a daughter of Judith, desired to remain on the throne. Otto II, however, a cousin of the proud



woman, relegated her to the Burchard family domain.

There, at her castle of Twiel, in the beautiful Hegau, lived Hedwig, in whose veins flowed Saxon and Bavarian blood. Her active brain and more than average education made her a forceful, attractive person. Her realm had dwindled and it is no wonder that her strong personality sometimes showed harshness amid her unrest and loneliness. As mentioned in Scheffel's fine romance, she returned from a visit to the convent at St. Gall with a teacher, Ekkehard II, whom she had engaged as her tutor in Latin and Virgil. He was a tall, well-built monk of noble features, and more suitable than any other one for so high a position. Not only was he a man of learning but of wit and repartee. One day he stopped at the convent of Reichenau, where the abbot, jealous of Ekkehard's preference, whispered to him over the table: "Thou blessed one to instruct such a pretty girl in grammar!" Ekkehard, just as friendly, whispered back: "Didst thou not, holy man, instruct thy dear pupil, the pretty nun Gotelind, in logic?" However, if the teacher of Virgil was teased, and probably at times with acrimony, about his position on the Twiel, he had by no means the lovely time depicted by the poet, according to the *St. Gall Chronicle*, the fullest account of the life and anecdotes of the Middle Ages. After Ekkehard's final return to the

convent, he spoke of whims of a troublesome nature. His uncle, also named Ekkehard, composed the Lay of Waltari, and a third or rather fourth Ekkehard of St. Gall wrote about the other two and about Hedwig.

Otto, after refusing to retain the duchess in charge, turned Suabia and Bavaria over to his cousins, Ludolf's son Otto and Judith's son Henry, who had attained their maturity. These two soon revived the rivalry and enmity of their fathers. Henry soon became known as The Quarrelsome and was deposed, while Bavaria was given to Otto, the emperor's boyhood friend. In 976, the eastern portion, known as East March, although under Bavarian protection, was separated for Luitpold of Babenberg, who received the title of margrave, while Carinthia and the territories of Northern Italy were amalgamated as a duchy under Henry the Younger, whose uncle, Duke Arnulf of Bavaria, died in 937.

Disturbances in Lorraine again roused the old desire of France, where Louis IV had been succeeded by his son Lotar. In 978, he suddenly attacked Aachen, in which city Otto, the emperor, celebrated the national midsummer day. This ruler preferred the Palatinate, which had regular intercourse with the Rhenish provinces, to the country and forests of Saxony, where Henry and Otto I always felt at home. Otto, utterly taken by

surprise, barely escaped capture. His dinner, which had just been prepared, was eaten by the Frenchmen. Lotar permitted his soldiers to plunder the city and turned the imperial eagle on the palace at Aachen so that it pointed east, as if looking from some French city towards Germany. These two exploits seemed to satisfy Lotar, who returned to France. Soon after this cowardly attack, war was declared against France by an imperial herald's message, for the first of October, 978. At the head of 60,000 men Otto entered that country and, without meeting any resistance, halted near Paris. The Germans encamped on a mountain called Montmartre, north of the city, which has since been fully built up. Paris was defended by Hugo Capet, a son of Hugo de Francien, and could not be captured at that time. Because of the approaching winter, it was decided to return to Germany, but before starting Otto thought to give the French a surprise of their own kind by having a vast chorus of Germans sing from the heights of Montmartre, above Paris, the inspiring melody of *Te deum laudamus*, by Ambrose. While the Germans were going back to their own country, Lotar succeeded in injuring some of the rear guard, but avoided an open battle. The chivalrous emperor then challenged him to a duel, but the challenge was not accepted, although it served to teach Lotar respect. In 980, Otto and Lotar met personally on the river

Korn or Chiers which, near the city of Sedan, runs into the Maas. It was the boundary of the two countries, and on this occasion Lotar renounced all claims to Lorraine. Several similar meetings afterward took place at this spot.

The marriage to the Greek princess did not bring the results expected by Otto I. In southern Italy there was incessant war between German and Greek vassals and commanders. Moreover, the plundering expeditions of the North African Saracens, who had settled in Sicily and some parts of the peninsula, demanded attention. Accordingly, Emperor Otto crossed the Alps, in 980. At Rome he liberated the papacy from the local party régime again introduced by Crescentius, a son of the younger Theodora already mentioned. To conquer the South which his father had not done, Otto started in 982 with a strong force against the allied Greeks and Saracens. Bari, the principal base of the Greeks, and Tarent were taken, while near Cotrone, Calabria, on the way to Sicily, the Saracens were defeated. Then, through a frightful misfortune, everything was lost again. In the farthest south, at an unknown place which proved an extremely difficult territory for the Germans, owing to its bare, wild, rocky deserts which rise straight from the sea, they first encountered, on July 12, 982, the Greeks and a Saracen force. By noon of that day the enemy was completely beaten. The Germans stacked their arms

and rested in the broiling midday sun, enjoying their victory and free from all misgiving. Suddenly a new band of Saracens that had not been noticed bounded forward from all directions and almost annihilated the German army.

It is not always advisable to rely implicitly on authorities which employ superlatives and exaggerated expressions. Frequently it is reported that "nearly all" have been killed when afterwards large bodies of armed men come forward. In this attack, however, nearly the whole imperial army perished, with the exception of a remnant who were driven to the slave market of the Saracens. The defeat made a terrible impression. The death records kept at that time in the convents of Germany show conclusively what a day of sad memories this 13th of July was. Those of the higher classes, representing the benefactors of the convents, are individually mentioned, but of the bulk of the warriors, the annalist alone could speak. The emperor escaped through a fortunate chain of incidents. He succeeded in mounting his horse and reaching the beach, where he dashed through the shallow water to one of the Greek boats anchored outside. On board was a Slavonian named Zolunta, who recognized him and grasped the situation. He told the Greek crew that the new arrival was the emperor's chamberlain, and that a heavy ransom could be secured by bringing him quickly to Rossano

(where Otto had left his wife and headquarters under cover). The Greeks readily believed the fiction. On arriving at Rossano, the Slavonian went ashore and told the truth. A force of men and a horse for the emperor came to the beach and Otto, leaping from the deck into the sea, reached his people safely. This, at least, is the way in which the event appears in the most reliable accounts. It is said, however, that Theophano laughed at the emperor's misfortune, and the Germans considered the Greek princess capable of doing so.

Not only was everything in Lower Italy lost, but the prestige of the empire was affected, Lombardy became restless and the entire Wendic populace on the eastern German frontier revolted. Even at that time Germans were in the habit of being unnecessarily submissive towards proud strangers while they would play the brutal master to obedient and inferior nations. Instead of earning the Slavs' respect and obedience, the few Germans who had dealings with them on the boundary line and in the new territories inspired only long suppressed indignation. The Danes, as good neighbors, added to this feeling and when the unfavorable news from Lower Italy arrived, German supremacy in the Slavic countries suddenly ceased. Meanwhile Otto, at a diet of Verona, had announced the succession of his son Otto, whom he sent to Aachen to be crowned. Germany supported him; most of the

prominent people did the same at Verona, and new armies were formed to repair the defeat. In the midst of these preparations, Otto II contracted malarial fever at Rome. Unfortunately the depressing news from the Slavic frontier was the last information that reached him. Thus he departed this life at the very time when he yearned to show himself the man who could turn the tide of misfortune. His death occurred on the 7th of December, 983, and he was buried in the entrance hall of the Church of St. Peter.

When, during the Renaissance period, the present church of St. Peter was built, the body was transferred to the Vatican grotto, located on the floor of the old edifice, about twelve feet below that of the new structure. There the German emperor rests, side by side with many popes. His coffin lid of porphyry was remodeled at the time of the removal into a baptismal basin for the new church, while the antique sarcophagus which originally held the coffin was installed as a cistern in the Quirinal Palace. These were impressive memories, but how insignificant they seem compared with the loss caused by the early death of this emperor, and by the actions of succeeding governments which undid for decades, and even for centuries, all that had been accomplished by Henry I and Otto the Great.

## CHAPTER XI

### OTTO III, THE WONDER CHILD

**A**LTHOUGH Otto II died at Rome on the 7th of December, 983, the important news did not reach Aachen till Christmas, owing to slow communication in winter time. There Otto III, only four years old, had just been crowned by the Archbishops of Mainz and Ravenna. The guests were still assembled, but it was a sad ending of the celebration. Nobody seemed to know what to expect. The Bishop of Utrecht, in whose charge Henry the Quarrelsome had been placed, immediately released his prisoner, and the Archbishop of Cologne even intrusted the newly crowned boy to the energetic Henry. The most important question was as to who should be regent. Theophano was a clever woman and much admired, but she had too often offended the Germans. Henry was a cousin of young Otto's father, a Saxon and a descendant of Ludolf, all of which attracted attention to him. It was feared, however, that, having been imprisoned so long, he would show too much ambition and make too radical changes in the personnel of the administration. Even before a guardian for



young Otto had been appointed, Henry thought of becoming emperor. Having Otto in his power he held court receptions, accepted homage and represented himself as king at Quedlinburg, which city, to a certain extent, was regarded as the Saxon capital. He also paid particular attention to the Slavs and made friends of the older Saxon leaders. That programme was evidently intended as opposition to Theophano. In Saxony as well as elsewhere many people, including bishops and archbishops, favored him; but Otto III had been crowned and to push him aside would have been dishonorable. Some presumably bright people, such as are found everywhere, expressed the opinion that Henry might be chosen if Otto, the four-year-old child, released them of the oath. At last Willigis of Mainz cleared the situation. He had crowned Otto, and for him, the city of Mainz and its importance in the government, it meant opposition if Henry, supported by the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, should be victorious.

Willigis sprang from a plain Saxon family and attained the highest church office in 975. Afterwards this celebrated and capable man was reported to have been the son of a wheelwright and to have had a wheel in his coat-of-arms, but in 983 there were no coats-of-arms except the imperial eagle.

Under the capable and successful leadership of Willigis, during 984 and 985, it was finally decided

that Henry should renounce the wrongly assumed title of king, and return Otto to his mother and to the grandmother, Adelheid. In compensation, the duchy of Bavaria was restored to him. This agreement was faithfully carried out by Henry, who through his demeanor succeeded in having his nickname changed from "the Quarrelsome" to "the Peaceable." His actions during 983, however, were not forgotten, although this brother of the Duchess Hedwig was by no means the worst man of the Saxon dynasty.

Theophano, assisted by several princes, acted as regent until she died in 991. No fault was found with her administration. The events of 982 showed clearly that, first of all, she would have to look after the national problems in the East. She succeeded in preventing Boleslav of Bohemia from pressing his efforts to create a large Slavic kingdom along the river Elbe. During Easter, 991, he as well as the Pole paid homage to Theophano. In 988, she visited Italy, where she found matters in a satisfactory condition. At Rome she humbled John Crescentius, who had assumed the old position of Alberic. He was a son of the Crescentius already spoken of. As a young woman without responsibility, Theophano had repeatedly shown anti-German leaning, and Henry the Quarrelsome called attention to that fact, but as a regent she did her duty so well that the unpleasant past was soon for-

gotten. Adelheid succeeded her in the regency under similar conditions. While Otto II was still alive, Adelheid retired to her old home in Burgundy. She was of such an age that her attention was concentrated upon pious works. In fact the government was exclusively in the hands of Willigis and some princes from his territory. At last Adelheid retired to a convent which she had founded at Selz on the Rhine in Alsace, near a French castle, where she died in 999. During her regency the war against the Wendic people was continued until 996, when peace was concluded, but it proved to be only an intermission and not a conquest. There was better success in fighting the "Ashmen," that is, the Vikings of all three North German nations. Owing to the fact that in their own language their ships were called *Aschen*, the Germans nicknamed them Ashmen. Since 982, these people had felt encouraged to bring their boats as far even as the rivers Elbe and Weser. The two regencies did not form the worst period of this government. There is an old German proverb: "Woe unto the kingdom whose ruler is a child." It proved fully true only after Otto III became of age, in 995.

The boy's first tutor was a Greek from Calabria named Johannes, who was known as Theophano's favorite. Afterwards a confidant of Willigis, a young man previously employed as a court clerk who came from a fine Saxon family, continued the

work. His name was Bernward. Instruction in manners and the use of weapons was given by Count Hoiko, a Saxon. Bernward, a real German, was very resourceful. He took an interest in everything beautiful and succeeded in whatever he undertook. In 993, in compensation as an instructor, he received the bishopric of Hildesheim, where he introduced, among other technical arts, those of ore foundry and manufacturing jewelry. It was his ambition to make Hildesheim a Saxon Rome, and many things in that city still remind one of this brave man, whose reputation was surpassed by few. His zeal for science and instruction was great, and he showed fine ability as head of his bishopric, as well as in managing public affairs. Young Otto was eager to learn, and the aforementioned teachers were intrusted with his education. Through them he made such progress that his contemporaries regarded him as a child prodigy, and not only because, besides German and Latin, he spoke fluently the languages of his mother and grandmother. Astonishing acquirements have caused him to be referred to as the "wonder child."

Soon after being declared of age, Otto III crossed the Alps. At Rome he promoted Bruno, who was about his own age, to the vacant chair of Peter. Bruno was a grandson of Konrad the Red, and consequently a great-grandson of Emperor Otto I. Like his young uncle and friend, this youth had

the lofty ambitions of uniting the empire and papacy, and greatly desired to change the course of the world. Bruno, the first German pope, or rather Gregory V,—which name he assumed in honor of Gregory the Great, the most celebrated of all his predecessors,—showed great zeal in attempting to purify and spiritualize the church and to uplift the apostolic chair. Through his reforms and preliminary work the Holy See attained great power under Gregory VII and Urban II. On the 21st of May, 996, Gregory V crowned the German king as emperor.

Being very impulsive, Otto made many warm friends among those with whom he came in contact. At the time of his return from Rome to Germany, he was accompanied by a prominent young Czech known as Adalbert, though his real name was Woytieck, who was distantly related to the imperial family and had been educated at Magdeburg for the ministry. Willigis made him bishop for the diocese of Prague, which was founded about 973. Unpleasantness caused by his peculiar ways made him dissatisfied with the difficult position. He went to Italy, where he lived in Monte Cassino and in the convent on the Aventine at Rome. When accompanying Otto to the last named city Willigis, as the Metropolitan, ordered Adalbert to return to Prague. Very reluctantly he obeyed his superior and recrossed the Alps with the German emperor's suite.

On the road he passed much of his time with Otto, and they became intimate friends.

At Prague, Adalbert soon grew dissatisfied again. Being excitable and in a gloomy mood, he looked upon himself as a victim of church devotion and almost a martyr. For a short time he went to Hungary as a missionary. Afterwards, in 996, he paid a visit to Rome, to the emperor at Mainz, and to Poland, where the ruler, Duke Boleslav, a son of Mieczyslaw, had already embraced Christianity. From there Adalbert traveled to Lithuania, where the Prussians (Pruzzes or Poruzzes) had recently been conquered by Boleslav. He provided Adalbert with a ship to sail on the river Vistula escorted by thirty warriors. Unfortunately, Adalbert's disposition and temperament made him unsuitable for missionary work among heathens, where patient gentleness is indispensable. On the 23d of April, 997, when about to start on the return trip, he was killed.

While at Mainz, Otto ordered sleeping quarters for Adalbert to be prepared near his own. It is reported that they passed whole nights in religious conversation, and embraced affectionately at parting. After Adalbert's death the young emperor found another confidant in the person of Gerbert, a Frenchman. He was born in Aquitaine, belonged to a poor family and became a monk at Aurillac, in Auvergne. Thence he was placed at the head of the convent school in Rheims. Being a highly educated

and very active man, he was greatly pleased at becoming known to the imperial family during the reign of Otto I. Afterwards Otto II made him abbot of the celebrated Scottish convent Bobbio, in Upper Italy, which was founded by Columbanus. In 984, during the regency period, Gerbert returned to Rheims, but continued to support the policies of Willigis. In 991, he was elected Archbishop of Rheims. Nevertheless, he met some opposition in that city and decided if possible to join Otto III. At his own suggestion he received a letter of invitation, in which the young German emperor requested him to come and correct without restraint the roughness of his Saxon nature, while further developing whatever Greek refinement he might possess. During the spring of 997, while Adalbert, among the Poles and Prussians, was impatiently longing for his imperial friend, the archbishop arrived and at once became the confidant of Otto III. In those days, Gerbert was considered the most learned of living men, being of profound attainments in mathematics, astronomy and music. He was one of the pioneers in promoting humane ideas, and to his foresight we owe the preservation of his correspondence, which throws light on many events and helps us to judge Otto's character and disposition. This is all the more appreciated since sources of information were very meager during the Middle Ages.

Meanwhile, Crescentius had again become ruler of Rome and consequently of Gregory. He established a new pope and called himself "Patricius, Consul of the Romans." In 998, Otto went to Italy and opened court at Rome. Crescentius was decapitated on the top of the citadel, where he had made his last stand, while twelve of his principal leaders were crucified. It was their intention to renovate the ancient city, but they met a disgraceful end, in accordance with an old Roman custom. Otto gave Gerbert the archbishopric of Ravenna, which had recently outstripped Milan as the most desirable and important episcopate in Upper Italy. Pope Gregory V died in 999, and Otto promoted Gerbert to the succession. He assumed the name of Sylvester II, and thus reached the highest point attainable in his career. At the same time, he was the first pope who took the name of the other Sylvester, (Sylvester I, 314-336) to whom Constantine was reported to have given a very large donation. Unlike Constantine, however, Otto made his home in Rome and remained near Gerbert.

On the Aventine Otto established his imperial court, in a quickly constructed building which he filled with antique Roman busts, at that time plentiful in Rome, to represent, so to speak, the portraits of his imperial ancestors. There he was surrounded by people bearing Greek and old Roman titles, such as *Protospatharies*, *Logothetai*, *Magistri imperialis*



*militiæ* and a *Præfectus navalis*, although there was no imperial navy. He insisted on being addressed as emperor of emperors and, imitating the family of Augustus, added to his name those of the countries under his rule, *Italicus* and *Saxonicus*. In marked contrast to the practice of German rulers, he did not take his meals with his family, but ate at a separate table. Whoever was received by him had to go through certain formalities of devotion according to Byzantine custom. Otto III really believed he had renovated the Roman Empire. Up to that time Latin records showed the imperial title of "Augustus" to have been "Imperator Augustus," but Otto officially added to it the word "Romanorum," which means Roman emperor. His seals spoke of the "Restoration" of the real Roman Empire, and showed a splendid picture of the "Aurea Roma." Metal displaying the imprint on both sides was used for seals attached to documents. Lead was the typical material used by popes. Since the days of Charles the Stout seals of lead or gold were in exceptional cases also employed in German government offices, besides those of war.

Gerbert's high reputation and attainments in science and church matters should not be obscured by criticism of this obtrusive upstart for having kept his imperial friend near him and encouraged him in his peculiar tastes. In one of his letters to

the emperor he expressed himself as finding it grand that Otto, Greek by birth and Roman by imperial power, had inherited equally the treasures of Greek and Roman wisdom. Nothing was said about a Saxon inheritance from Otto I. The young ruler could have led a useful, active life, but Gerbert encouraged him in exaggerated reminiscences of the ancient godliness of Augustus, and in penance exercises suitable for middle-aged ladies. While Otto desired to be addressed as Emperor of emperors he added to this imperial title the words: "Servant of the Apostles." This was in reference to Peter and Paul, of the Roman church. He undertook pilgrimages to all the hermitages and ascetic convents of Italy, submitting with ecstasy to castigation. He is also reported to have had visions.

In Gnesen Otto founded an archbishopric, where he was buried. The other six bishoprics were controlled by Gerbert. Thus perished what Otto I had striven for through Magdeburg. Poland and the West Slavic East were made independent from the German episcopate. The Polish king, who had received the emperor with splendid ceremonies, was exempted from the tribute which he hitherto had been obliged to pay to the German empire. In acknowledgment of these deeds of liberality, Boleslav presented to the emperor one arm of the slain Adalbert. "May the Lord forgive him," said the later chronicler, the Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg,

when speaking of the ways in which Otto furthered the Polish cause.

Strong measures in and for the empire, as well as against the Danes, were expected when Otto crossed the Alps but he went to Aachen from Gnesen, in order to have a gruesome meeting with Charlemagne. He opened the coffin, took off the cross which was pinned to the emperor's breast, removed a portion of the well-preserved garments and solemnly buried the remainder. Thus runs the authentic report, but posterity, disgusted with the procedure, added other stories, some of an impious nature. Meanwhile, Sylvester II had frequently sent word for Otto II to return to Rome.

The names of the Czech martyr and of the Polish duke have filled the world, since the German emperor so highly augmented their power. No wonder that other alien princes made use of their opportunity. Thus the supreme lord of the Hungarians, who from a Hungarian Waik had become a Christian Stephen, firmly established his monarchic power in the country, and founded the Archbishopric of Gran, which controlled the uniformly organized church. He asked the pope to ratify his action and to bestow upon him the royal crown. When this news reached Rome, Otto defended the course, though it was quite unnecessary. Stephen's desire was fulfilled amid most honorable expressions, and all efforts of the Bavarian episcopates,

monasteries, missionary works, and German colonization were in vain in behalf of a new empire, independent ecclesiastically and temporally.

In all this we must not misunderstand Otto. His empire was so august that the rulers of Poland and Hungary, despite their increased prestige, remained its subject vassals and only increased the splendor of the emperor of the Romans. The Germans concerned the emperor no less than the other nations. Thus we must rightly interpret his actions, yet we have the privilege of calling things by their proper names instead of indulging in the fashion of quasi-historians in their references to "marks of honor" which were bestowed upon Otto I by foreign princes.

The youth had seen his most beloved hopes crumble when he believed them to be the lasting basis of his empire. For years numerous rebellions occurred in Lower Italy, and in the Upper Italian Lombardy. Even Tibur near Rome, beyond the Campagna, revolted. Otto sent his men from the Aventine and brought the city to terms. But when the small army returned to Rome, the inhabitants closed the gates and besieged the emperor in his palace for three days. Then Henry of Bavaria, (a son of the Quarrelsome) succeeded in aiding Otto. The tragedy of this and his reign lies in the sad but true words which the withdrawing emperor called down to the rebels from the Aventine tower regarding their in-

gratitude. For their sake he had abandoned home and family, and turned away from Germans and Saxons. On February 16, 1001, accompanied by the pope, he left his "golden Rome," never to see it again.

Occasionally Otto resided at Ravenna, for the sake of penitence and chastisements. He received instructions from St. Romuald, the famous founder of Calmaldoli, in the desolate valley near Arezzo, where the widely spread order of the Calmadulensians was established. From Ravenna he once visited Venice. He desired to see the city of the lagoons and its peculiar conditions. But the wise doge Peter Orseole denied his request, since Venice, politically connected with Byzantium, strove to preserve its freedom from the German imperium, and insurrections were to be feared. It was finally agreed that the emperor should secretly enter the city, disguised as an imperial messenger, and stop at the doge's palace. For two nights and one day the "messenger" was there, being hidden during the day in a tower of the palace. Later on, Peter Orseole gathered the people on St. Mark's Place, told them everything and announced to the joyous and applauding audience that the German emperor had acknowledged without hesitation the independence of the city.

Finally Otto sat in the castle Paterno on the mountain Soracte, sadly looking toward Rome, which he

vainly tried to capture by reënforcements from Germany. Here fever overcame him, and January 23, 1002, he died, at the age of 22. Fortunately no child was heir to the throne. Suitors had been sent to Byzantium, but Otto had breathed his last, just after negotiations for an engagement had been concluded. Since he could not be buried in Rome, he had desired to rest in Aachen near Charlemagne. But Italy rebelled against the imperium. Otto II had made no distinction between Germany and Italy, and the affairs of the Germans and the empire were discussed by the diet in Italy, which was attended mostly by Italians. Otto's son had been crowned by both the Archbishops of Mainz and of Ravenna. The answer was given by Italy after the death of Otto III. The Germans of the small army that had been led against Rome could not sheathe their swords until they reached the Bavarian frontier, with the body of their dead emperor.

Thus the great sovereign of Aachen received the youth that had placed himself above the former, who was merely the founder of a barbaric empire. The grave closed in reconciliation over so much genius on account of which the youthful Otto, as has been said, was named *oraculum mundi*, and whose reign was one of the most pitiful in German history. Today nothing is left at Aachen of Otto III. France, in 1803, destroyed the last outward sign of his grave.

## CHAPTER XII

### HENRY II

ONE of the facts regarding Otto III was that after his death the various princes took possession of their principalities. The situation was in many respects similar to that after the death of Louis the Child. The indignation against the system of Otto III required the election of a powerful king who would care for German interests. It was only a question as to who should receive the votes at the meeting of the princes, counts and other distinguished officials and landowners. This time, too, we have to do with a considerable struggle of parties and organizations.

Candidates for the throne were: Henry of Bavaria, as member of the Saxon house; Margrave Eckard of Meissen, whom the Thuringians had considered their supreme lord after separating from the Saxons. He was the most famous strategist of the empire, and in that unfavorable period protected it against the Czechs and the Sorbic Slavs. The third candidate was Hermann II of Suabia. All three had ardent adherents, and the possibilities of success looked equally good for each. Suddenly,

on the 30th of April, Eckard was slain by some Saxon noblemen at Pöhlde, south of the Harz. This gave Henry supremacy. Willigis was on his side, and on June 7, 1002, Henry was proclaimed emperor at a meeting of Bavarian, Frankish and Lotharingian noblemen held at Mainz, and was immediately crowned by Willigis. The Thuringians took the oath of allegiance July 20, at Jena, and Henry exempted them from the swine-tribute which they had been forced to pay since the Merovingian conquest. On July 24, the Saxons and Boleslav of Poland solemnly swore allegiance, the former at Merseburg.

The name of Boleslav is distinguished in Polish history, which calls him Chrobry,—that is, the Brave. He had subjugated the Slavic and Lithuanian peoples about Poland, because they supported Adalbert's Prussian missionary work. Through Otto II he founded a national church, and after the assassination of Eckard occupied his march and the adjacent Sorbian territory. This he ruled from the Haff to the Erz Mountains and the Elster. In other words, he governed a large part of the German empire of today. He had hoped Henry would leave him these provinces for his formal allegiance, but he quickly learned that times had changed. Henry accepted his oath of loyalty and ordered him to surrender all the territory he had conquered at the expense of the empire.



Then the king went to Aachen, where, for the sake of the Lotharingians and in obedience to traditional custom, the coronation festival was repeated, Henry sitting on the throne of Charlemagne while the oath was taken. Hermann of Suabia no longer opposed and took the vow of allegiance of Bruchsal. Suabians, Bavarians and Franks had also come forward and done the same. The Frisians were no longer considered; since Otto III they had dropped back into their ancient manner of living in seclusion.

Henry's most important moves were the wars against the Slavs, which were imperatively necessary. Boleslav of Poland, highly incensed, negotiated with the counts of Bavarian districts and other malcontents, and captured many Germans. In 1003, he became king of Bohemia through an understanding with the opposition. He made his namesake, Duke Boleslav the Red-haired, a prisoner. Thus he loomed as the formidable leader of the opposition against Germany in the East, and was more powerful than he had hoped to be in 1002. He followed the example of Stephen of Hungary, and asked Rome for a Polish crown, for which he promised to give a large sum of money. Henry began the war energetically against Boleslav, who had crossed the Elbe, destroying and devastating everywhere. The emperor found aid in the Wilzes and Liutizes, (from the Havel to the Isle of

Rügen) who were also menaced by the empire of Boleslav. It is only shortsightedness if people blame him for entering into a treaty with these heathens, who after one generation had returned to the German empire and paid taxes, although they wished to abide by their gods and customs. In 1004, Henry went to Bohemia, aided by Saxons, Bavarians and Liutizes, and made Jaromir, from the family of Pshemisliides, imperial duke of Bohemia. He also secured the regions in Lusatia in 1005, and advanced in the face of many hardships, battles and heavy losses, through the difficult marshes near the Spree, crossed the Oder near Krossen, and finally stood before the gates of Posen. Boleslav Chrobry sued for peace, through which he lost his conquests in the West and his hope of establishing an independent kingdom. He was exempted from tribute and was thus once more in the position of the time of Otto III, but meanwhile he had learned a great deal.

In Upper Italy, Margrave Arduin of Ivrea strove to establish an empire, towards the end of Otto III's reign, which cannot be considered a national-Italian one. It was aided by the local and national opposition against the imperium and its representatives. The latter were also opposed by the episcopate that was under the leadership of Bishop Leo of Vercelli. Soon after Otto's death, Arduin, (the name of this Lombard is no other than

Hartwin Romanized) was in a position to care no longer about any German ruler, and on February 15, 1002, he received the crown of Lombardy. Henry, who was elected king four months later, could do very little, owing to the difficulties with Poland, but in the spring of 1004, he crossed the Brenner, and on Palm Sunday arrived at Trentino.

The Brenner Pass near the Etsch after leaving the Alps, which was to become famous through the frequent journeys of German emperors, was occupied by Arduin. But Henry flanked the position by way of the valleys Sugana and Brenta.

As soon as Henry entered the Upper Italian plain, the disheartened Arduin yielded. On May 14, 1002, Henry was elected king of Italy by the noblemen of Lombardy, in Pavia, the old Lombardic city on the Ticino River. On the following day he was crowned by the Archbishop of Milan. Why he did not confine himself to Germany, and remain only a national king, has been definitely ascertained. If the king had sacrificed the imperial province Italy and the empire to the greed of others, (said France) who can tell whether there would not have been greater censure put on him than on those who had neglected German policy in the East as respected Slavic territory? What Henry had considered his noblest task, he announced by changing the inscription on the shield of Otto the Third: *Renovatio im-*

*perii Romanorum and Aurea Roma into Renovatio regni Francorum.*

On the evening of the day of the coronation, a sudden insurrection broke out at Pavia. Originally the rioters were a band of drunken men, for wine was provided abundantly, but in Italy little was needed to start a rebellion of the whole people. The multitude approached the royal palace where Henry and his adherents resided, while the army was outside of the city. Archbishop Pilgrim of Cologne looked through the window and inquired what was going on. A shower of stones was his answer. Meanwhile, the crowds began to fight the small German patrols in the city, who advanced toward the palace. In order to see plainly, the mob set a number of buildings near the palace on fire. The flames caught the attention of the Germans outside of the city and they stormed the gates. These were closed, but were speedily broken. A desperate fight in the streets followed, and the task of the sword was completed by the flames. Thousands were slain; the city was made a heap of ashes, and only a few houses of stone remained. Henry had little time to give to Italy, since the interrupted wars against Poland demanded his immediate attention. But the blaze of Pavia illuminated the whole peninsula; messages were sent from near and far, and Italy maintained peace.

In 1013, Henry came to Italy again and this time

made a longer stay. Sylvester II had died in 1003, and the selection of popes once more became the affair of the family of the Crescentians. In 1012, the local supporters of the counts of Tusculum gained the upper hand. They were opposed to the Crescentians, who forced them to lean upon the German government. Their pope and relative, Benedict VIII, entered into an agreement with Henry. This brought about a new journey towards Rome. The Lombards everywhere on the road showed obedience. On February 14, 1014, Henry and his consort Kunigunde were crowned by the pope with the imperial crown.

Previously to this coronation the pope had given Henry a peculiar present,—a precious imperial apple. Henry thanked him in a most polite manner and handed it to the clergymen present from the southern French monastery Cluny, which was highly distinguished at that time. Henry asked them to take the apple with them to their monastery. Thus was averted the danger that this imperial fruit should give rise to an apple of Eris in questions relating to imperial rights.

Arduin despaired of his kingdom and entered the monastery Fractuaria near Turin, where he died in 1015. On this second Roman journey, Henry held synods and meetings, and established peace in Rome and vicinity. Still he did not look upon his Italian tasks as did Otto the First, or Otto the

Second. At Whitsuntide, 1014, he was again at Bamberg, where, in 1007, he had founded the bishopric of Bamberg, after the estate of the Babenbergs had been annexed to the exchequer. This bishopric was to do missionary work among the Czech Slavs on the Upper Main and on the Regnitz, and Germanize them. The dome was completed and Henry added a monastery of the Archangel St. Michael. He did much for his favorite creations, especially in acquiring many beautiful books.

With Boleslav Chrobry war began anew, even though it was mainly in the interest of the Liutizes. Mediations undertaken by Bruno of Querfurt were in vain. He was a Saxon nobleman whom Romuald had trained for missionary work. He first went among the Hungarians, but King Stephen did not like him and he was forced to depart. He then turned to the southern Russians, who had just become Greek-Catholic and was successful with their neighbors and enemy, the Petchenegi, (on the Lower Don). In 1008, he came to Boleslav Chrobry. "I love this Pole," he writes to Germany, "as I love my soul, and I love him more than I love my life." Hence he saw in Henry only an opponent of the just claims of the duke, and what he believed to be a mediation was impossible for the emperor. From the Polish court he visited the Prussians, in order to continue the work of Adalbert in the interests of

Boleslav. He was unsuccessful, however, according to a report of his old Magdeburg schoolmate, Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg. On February 14, 1009, he and his adherents were seized and beheaded. His glory was insignificant compared with that of Adalbert, for he won no emperor for himself, yet he was just as zealous as the Bohemian martyr. German history has little to do with him, as compared with the numerous other Germans who had worked for the glory and the aims of other peoples.

In the years 1010-12, the wars against the Poles were renewed. In the latter year Henry became master of the situation, which was not a very grave one and was due to the policy of the Polish statesman who incited the discontented counts in the empire and in the west of Lorraine. After this Boleslav longed for peace, and sent his son Mesco (Mieczislav) to take the oath of allegiance before Henry. On Whitsuntide, 1013, he appeared in person at Merseburg, and received the country of the Lausatians and that of the Mitznes, (including Bautzen). Henry could now go to Italy and Boleslav began his wars against the Russians. In 1015, hostilities between him and his imperial lord broke out anew, since he once more attempted to gain control over Bohemia, and refused to appear at the meeting of the princes to account for his act. After a number of indecisive battles in

1018, peace was concluded at Bautzen. Boleslav recognized the imperium once more. Thus the efforts of the Pole to establish a great Slavic empire in the East were a failure.

Two vital events of the future were interwoven with the reign of Emperor Henry. The son and successor of Konrad of Burgundy, who we learned was a protégé of Otto I, was Rudolf the Third. His vassals, under the leadership of Count Otto William, gained control over him and he was forced to seek the assistance of Henry II, who was his sister Gisela's son, the wife of the Quarrelsome. As he had no children, Rudolf assured himself of the aid of his powerful nephew. To him he bequeathed his empire, and ceded the city of Basel to his relative as a pledge of the treaty. This was so much the more desirable since the diocese of Basel consisted mainly of Southern Alsace. The treaty, however, necessitated two expeditions across the Jura, since the Burgundian noblemen strongly opposed it, and finally the aged King Rudolf survived his nephew.

The second event was connected with the name of the Normans.

The settlement of a larger part of France by the Norsemen had not stamped out their piratical inclinations. They operated over the entire Mediterranean, and as Christians participated in the pilgrimages to Jerusalem. In 1016, they visited the



Holy Sepulcher and fought savagely against the Greeks and Saracens on behalf of the princes and sovereigns of Lower Italy, who were Lombards by birth but belonged politically to the empire. They were urged to stay there, but came home again. Their tales, Italian fruits, pretty garments, wares and other precious things brought by them to Normandy, induced many to go to Lower Italy in 1016. The wars against the Greeks continued, but in 1018, one great victory of the latter near the battlefield of Cannæ destroyed all that had been gained. Then the Greeks turned their attention to Henry. Among others, Rudolf himself came to him who had led the Normans into Lower Italy.

In 1020, Pope Benedict VIII appeared before Henry at Bamberg, where court was usually held. In the preceding autumn a peculiar occurrence had taken place: all loyal bishops and officials of Italy went to Henry at Strasburg, upon the request of Pope Leo of Vercelli. The purpose of this action was to induce the emperor, who had turned away from Italy, to pay attention once more to her. Henry granted the prayer, which was brought to him in so impressive a manner. After elaborate preparations, he crossed the Alps in 1021, to make an end of the reign of the Greeks in Lower Italy. He was not successful, though he succeeded in establishing the dignity of the empire in those regions. In the other parts of Italy such measures

were not needed. Henry's imperium was the most powerful in the whole world, for it secured immovably the national foundations of his strength. He died on the 13th of July, 1024, in his castle at Grona near Göttingen, without heirs,—the last of the Saxon emperors. He was buried at Bamberg.

Emperor Henry II, the sickly prince, had reigned longer than anyone expected. He had bravely wielded the German sword, defeated rebellions against the crown, and established public peace and safety on the highways. He was a pious ruler, who desired to introduce the moral reforms of the clergy of the monastery at Cluny, and also in Germany. Moreover, he was a stately lord, highly valuing knightly and imperial exploits, hunting and arms, and indulging these tastes so far as the business of the state and his health permitted. With his splendid court, he was an emperor of whom it was said that the Caliph of Bagdad, surrounded with fabulous wealth, could not compare in splendor and magnificence.

The legends of the Church differ as to this statement. It needed an emperor who was a monk, and hence changed Henry and pronounced him a Saint (1146). This was easy, since Henry had no children by his wife, Kunigunde of Lützelburg. In one of the prayer books he gave to the monastery of Bamberg, there are a number of prayers for his posterity if God should grant him such. Beautiful, and

despite its simplicity containing a great deal, is the statement of Wipo, the biographer of Konrad the Second, regarding his predecessor Henry: "He died after he had secured peace for the empire and was about to reap the harvest of his toils and efforts."

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE FRANCONIAN EMPERORS

**T**HE Saxon dynasty was extinguished and a new one was to be intrusted with the destinies of the empire. In July, the last of the Saxon Ludolfingians had passed away and in August the princes moved towards the Rhine, in order to hold an election upon Frankish soil. It was part of Henry's conception of a ruler to emphasize the "Frankish" empire, unlike the Roman imperium of Otto III, which wholly forgot the Germans. The "Frankish" empire was the historical name and really meant the German.

The numerous adherents of the rival princes were between Worms and Mainz, in the beautiful valley on both banks of the stream, the Lotharingians to the left, the others, including Slavs, to the right. Discussions among the leading princes led to the consideration of two candidates. Both were Franks, both were named Konrad, and both were grandchildren of Konrad the Red and his wife Liutgard, a daughter of Otto I, so that the election of either would satisfy the Saxons. The elder had large estates in the county of Speyer, the younger in that

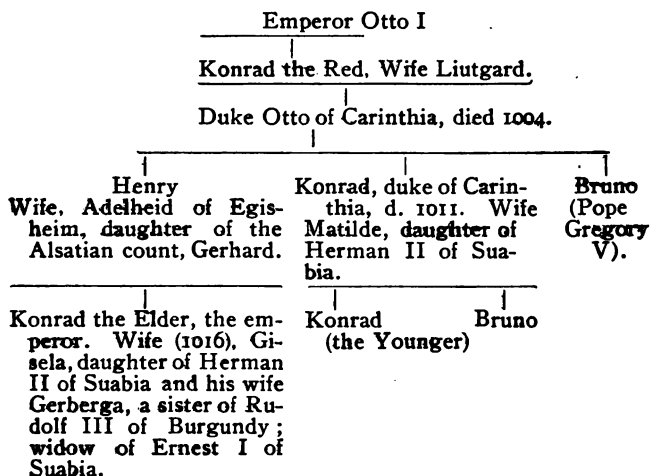
of Worms, but he was richer and more powerful, because of which many disliked him. It was decided that each should take the oath of allegiance, agreeing loyally to support the other in the event of his success, and thus avoid tainting the honor of the Frankish race by discord. In this election the rivalry of the two great Rhenish archbishops played an important part. Through the chivalric agreement named, Aribo, the Archbishop of Mainz, was assured of victory. After the votes had been cast he named the elder Konrad in a clear and distinct voice. The clergymen belonging to the party of Arno took the oath without hesitation. Then the younger Konrad did the same. The Lotharingians, however, who had voted the other way, left in discontent before the formal election.

At Kamba, opposite Oppenheim on the Rhine, Konrad II was elected on the 4th day of September, 1024, and four days later was crowned by Archbishop Arno, in the metropolitan city of Mainz. Thus the house of the Salians began to rule over the Germans. With few or no unpleasant features the "royal ride" through the empire took place, all the tribes, even the Saxons, doing homage. At the close of the excursion Konrad established friendly relations with his defeated rival, Pilgrim of Cologne. Aribo assisted the elder Konrad during his election, but he opposed his marriage with the widow of the Duke of Suabia, who ruled in the name of her son

Ernest. After Otto III, the right of inheritance was again revived and could no longer be ignored. Aribio, therefore, refused to crown Gisela as the future queen,—but Pilgrim of Cologne did so, September 21, at Aachen. Thus Cologne once more became the scene of an important coronation. Konrad sat on Charlemagne's throne at Aachen and held court before the public. The journey through Lotharingia, which had not voted for him, was a grand triumph. King Konrad now stood at the height of the power which Henry II had regained for the empire. And when he attempted to emphasize his demands by force of arms, King Rudolf III, (assisted by the noblemen and the policy of France) renewed the Treaty of Burgundy, into which he had entered with Henry II. In 1025, he renewed it again with Konrad II, who was not his nephew, (yet a relative) but who emphasized the old supremacy of the (eastern) Frankish empire over Burgundy.

Under Henry and his predecessors the Church had made such immense gains in temporal power that it owned about half of the land in the country, while the chief prelates—archbishops of Mainz, Köln or Cologne, Trier, Bremen, Magdeburg and Salzburg, ranked as princes of the empire. Towns grew up around cathedrals, monasteries, and towering castles of the nobles and all flourished and gained in importance and power. As has been in-

timated, the tradespeople formed guilds which in time acquired great weight and influence in political affairs.



## CHAPTER XIV

### KONRAD II

**A**S soon as Henry II was laid to rest and the empire was in a state of interregnum, Boleslav Chrobry of Poland had himself crowned king. This naturally meant separation from the empire, for since the end of the Carlovings, there had been no kings in its inner alliance. After he died, his son Mescow II followed in the footsteps of his father, the more so because the crown was for him the medium through which he could defend his sovereignty against the demands of his brothers. In order to anticipate the new ruler in a military way, he mobilized his troops against the empire. Konrad answered this by an alliance with Canute the Great of Denmark, in order to keep down the Slavs. Canute was the uncle of Mescow and could easily aid the latter. In other respects, it was also of vast value to Konrad to have formed a friendly alliance with the powerful northern king who had conquered England and Denmark, and who was strong on the eastern and southern coasts of the Baltic Sea. He was, in fact, a Clovis and Charles at the same time, who diligently aided Christendom.



Thus Konrad gained a free hand for his other work, and the northern task of the Archbishopric Hamburg-Bremen which had been founded in the time of Louis the Pious could develop itself fully.

In Italy, Henry's death sharply antagonized both parties. Pavia, in violent resentment, destroyed the royal castle. A coalition offered the Italian crown in France to Konrad. Thereupon the bishops, headed by Archbishop Aribert of Milan, hastened to Germany and, as Konrad came on his travels to the Suabian town of Constance, swore allegiance to him there and begged him to come to Italy as soon as possible, in order to be crowned. This ceremony was a necessity for the king because it would show that he had taken over the reins of the government and was, at the same time, engaged in a continuation of his travels. The temporary protection which Canute could give him against the Slavs while his back was turned was, therefore, the more welcome and valuable to Konrad.

In February, 1026, Konrad assembled his army on the Lechfeld and took that road, which had always been the German main entrance into the Brenner Pass until the opening of the railroad Munich-Kufstein-Innsbruck. This made Augsburg, from the time of the Romans to the nineteenth century, the chief center of traffic in South Germany. That is, Konrad passed through the Bavarian Alps, going by Mittenwald on the way to Zirl,

into the Inn Valley, then by way of Innsbruck to the Brenner Pass, and thence to Brixen, Bozen, Trentino and Verona.

In March, 1026, Aribert crowned the king with the crown of Lombardy, at Milan. A part of the army remained before Pavia, laying siege to that town. Konrad himself visited Ravenna.

There a startling incident took place, which reminds one of Henry the Second's experience in 1004. The people of Ravenna had conspired to slay the Germans, who were distributed in their different quarters for the night. Suddenly there was a wild tumult in all the houses and in the streets, but the Germans finally secured the upper hand. The would-be slayers fled to the churches, and Konrad dared to dismount and go to bed. The next morning the culprits appeared with repentant faces, barefooted and clad only in shirts, with naked swords suspended from their necks.

Ere long the whole of Upper Italy was fortified and ruled in accordance with the laws of the empire. Tuscia was given to the faithful Count Boniface of Modena and Reggio, of the House of Canossa, as a margraviate, and at the beginning of 1027, the fortified Pavia surrendered, thus getting off rather easily. On Tuesday before Easter Konrad entered Rome. The coronation of him and Gisela, as emperor and empress respectively, took place on Easter day, March 26, 1027. The presence of two kings

at the time added splendor to the festivals. These grand personages were Rudolf III of Burgundy, who for reasons at home found it advisable to renew the German alliance, and Canute, whom the North-Germanic love for travel had brought thither, coupled with zeal to apply his experiences to the advantage of his own country. They walked with the emperor when he returned from the coronation ceremony to the castle on the Aventine. The mighty northerner wrote very enthusiastically, in a letter to the English bishops which has been preserved, about the gold and silver vessels, magnificent cloaks and clothes, presented to him by Konrad. He did not let slip the opportunity to insure safe conduct and lower pass and import duties from the two monarchs, for his Danes and English who traveled as merchants or pilgrims overland to the south. These duties were especially high in the West Alps, and in Burgundy. Emperor Konrad went still further south where things had gone awry, but soon reestablished sovereign power in Benevento and Capua, as well as in Salerno. He allowed the Normans to settle themselves firmly within the frontier zones of the empire, and aided them in allying themselves again with the Lombardian princes who belonged to the empire, against the Greeks. From there the Normans succeeded, continually reënforced from home, in founding counties and baronies of their own.

Finally Konrad was compelled to settle the Italian questions speedily and to return to German soil, (May, 1027) where his presence was very necessary.

It was hard, indeed, for the younger Konrad to forget that he was, at the election of 1024, "a good fellow,"—to use a common term; and he soon afterwards had a bitter falling out with his crowned cousin. The emperor's stepson, Ernest of Suabia, was also dissatisfied, since Konrad had brought the succession of Burgundy to the empire. He believed that he, as a grandson of a sister of Rudolf III, had a clear title to the inheritance. (Now, if women had the right to succession, Count Odo of the Champagne, who was, after Henry II, the next cognate, would have to precede him.) Konrad the younger and Ernest soon joined interests, and among others the rich Count Welf, who had large possessions in Suabia and Bavaria, became their ally. All this had happened before the march to Rome. However, Konrad had pacified them previous to his departure, and took Ernest with him to Italy. He allowed him to return to Suabia towards the end of 1026, in order to appeal to the youth's sense of honor. He was ordered to keep the peace in his own duchy against Welf, who made trouble for the Bishop of Augsburg, temporary regent during the emperor's absence in Italy. Ernest went back only to lead the rebellion. This time he found slight

assistance, as had been the case in 1025. When he invaded Burgundy, Rudolf III compelled him to leave, instead of greeting him as a liberator, which his youthful grandnephew had expected him to do. Suabia remained loyal to the emperor. Finally, Ernest retreated to a Suabian castle, not far from Zurich, probably the Kiburg, and pillaged the territory of the cloisters St. Gall and Reichenau. At this juncture, Emperor Konrad hastened back from Italy, took away from Welf his county in the Inn Valley, besides some other dependencies, and imprisoned him for a time. Ernest was kept in close confinement on the eastern frontier of the empire, in the far-away castle Giebichenstein, near Halle. The Kiburg, which was defended by Count Wernher, a devoted friend and knight of Ernest, had to be regularly besieged by Konrad. Wernher escaped before it was taken.

In the summer of 1028, Ernest was once more in possession of his dukedom, but he inclined towards his former companions, of whom Wernher was the chief conspirator with him.

Again the restless youth failed to find any help. For instance, Odo of the Champagne, whom he was sure of having as an ally, refused to lend a hand. Ernest retired with Wernher and a few friends to the Felsenburg Falkenstein (near Lehrnberg) in the Black Forest, where the two outlawed men led the turbulent life of robber barons. Count Mane-

gold, (from the House of the later Nellenberger) was sent against them. In a desperate struggle, Ernest and Wernher, preferring a fight in the open instead of being starved out from behind their castle walls, fell on August 17, 1030.

The popular legends condemn the part taken by the emperor, whose patience was stretched more than once to the breaking point. These stories have put into the mouth of the sovereign a very hard word, said to have been uttered when he received the news of the death of his stepson, and it has linked the memory of Ernest with that of Ludolf, the son of Otto I. In the time of the Crusades, when the manifold pictured wonders of the Orient, and the marvelous Indian tales which came from Arabia to Europe, filled the country, it is passing strange that "Duke Ernest" should be taken as the people's hero of these new imaginations. And in the later editions of the popular history of Duke Ernest, the name of this unfortunate youth has been given a glamour it never deserved.

Konrad had renewed, in 1027, the pact with Burgundy, and at Easter, 1028, he was happy to see his son Henry elected as his successor, and as king at a diet at Aachen. Pilgrim of Cologne there crowned the young king as Henry III, of the Franconian line of emperors. After that, Cologne could insist on the right of coronation and claim that within its own diocese the Archbishop of Mainz

had no jurisdiction. The troubles with Ernest of Suabia, and the complications which threatened from time to time through them, had put obstacles in the way of the emperor's foreign policy. Mesco was also one of the allies of the rebels, and the mother of the younger Konrad, who had kept himself in the background, wrote letters to the Pole in which she called him the never-conquered king and gave him other similar titles. The name "never conquered" was, however, a misnomer, and Mesco was not entitled to it, neither was he a king. The latter attacked, in 1028, the Liutizen who had habitually stood by the empire, and in January, 1030, he penetrated the Elbe and Saale regions and inflicted great devastation. He is said to have taken, without a doubt, 9065 German inhabitants and carried them away as captives. At the same time, the conduct of Stephen of Hungary became more arrogant and he refused, against the international law, permission for embassies of the emperor to pass to Byzantium. He demanded the right of succession for his son in Bavaria, because Henry the Second's sister Gisela, the daughter of the Bavarian duke, was his wife. On the other hand, the emperor had in Bretislaw, the son of Duke Ulrich of Bohemia, an ardent champion. He drove the Poles out of Moravia, over which Boleslav Chrobry had already gained considerable authority, and took possession of the country

as duke, in order permanently to unite it later with Bohemia.

The relations with Hungary became more strained until the war in 1030, when Konrad advanced into the country as far as the Raab, but was unable to find the enemy and retreated. The Hungarians followed and occupied Vienna, which at that time belonged to the Duchy of Bavaria. Thereupon, the young king Henry III, then Duke of Bavaria, and his allied princes agreed, in 1031, to a cession of the country between Fischa, Leitha and Danube to Hungary. This brought peace which the emperor seems to have confirmed. Mesco of Poland, however, found himself between two fires,—that of his brother Bezbrim, who fought against his sovereignty, and the Prussians who had aided him when he became a friend of Emperor Konrad, in 1031. He had to give up Lusatia, whereupon Konrad united the upper part of the latter with the March Meissen, and the lower portion with the Saxonian East March, under their brave Margrave, Dietrich of Wettin. Through this means the house of Wettin rose to prominence. It is true that Bezbrim was murdered, but Mesco's power was nevertheless waning. On the 7th of July, 1033, he was ordered to appear before the diet at Merseburg. He obeyed, and formally renounced his rank as king. His death occurred in 1034, and the former creation of Boleslav Chrobry sank into insignificance, amid



wild internal disturbances, as well as unsuccessful wars with Bohemia and Russia. In the former, Bretislav succeeded in 1034. He was a faithful prince to the empire and tried to prevent internal troubles such as had continually occurred during the preceding generation, through a succession by seniority, similar to the one of the former king of the Vandals, Geiseric. Following the Polish demise, the Liutizes believed they did not need the further aid of the empire. As a consequence, the old hatred of race and faith found added nourishment between them and the Saxons. Several wars ensued, after which they were, in 1036, made even more independent of the empire than before. Thus much had been accomplished in the east, and all the Marches were intact and fulfilled the tasks laid out for them.

Rudolf of Burgundy had died on the 6th of September, 1032. Odo of the Champagne hoped to succeed in having his cognate right of inheritance recognized, if not as sovereign king of Burgundy, at least as only a nominal vassal of the German emperor, and he invaded Lower Burgundy. The troubles in France, however, made it easy for Emperor Konrad to form an alliance with King Henry which isolated Odo, the vassal of the latter. Then he advanced into Burgundy, was elected at the Monastery of Päterlingen, (south of the Neuenburg Lake) on the 2d of February, 1033, by a part of

the princes, and there received the crown. This made him not only king in the country by pact, but also in accordance with all the formalities pertaining to the succession on the throne of Burgundy, which were in general similar to the German and Italian customs. At a further diet, at Zürich, that is, on Alemannic soil, other Burgundians appeared to swear allegiance, among them Count Humbert of Maurienne, in Savoy. (The origin of his ancestors who had come to Burgundy in the very early days, can be traced to Walbeck in the district of Magdeburg; therefore, the royal house of Italy today, which is descended from him, is of Saxon Eastphalian origin.) Upper Lorraine, which had no prince, was given by Konrad to Duke Gozelo of Lower Lorraine, in order to frustrate Odo, who stirred up Lorraine. He met with success, and advanced personally against Odo, (1033) into the Champagne and in 1034, into Burgundy. On August 1, 1034, the princes of Lower Burgundy appeared at Geneva and swore allegiance to Konrad, as well as to his son Henry. Burgundy could then be considered secure.

The German crown had won in addition a beautiful country. The pure German, Alemannic region between Reuss and Aare, which probably was ceded by Duke Burchard of Suabia to Rudolf II of Burgundy, with the intention of finding for the latter a support against King Henry I, was no longer lost.

Added to it were the wide valleys of Transjurania, upon which looked down the white summits of the Alps and the forest mountains of the Jura, with their smiling fields and meadows. Farther on, rich lands and cities of ancient culture, situated on both sides of the Rhone, winding its way south, reminded one of Italy. The Alps and their passes were now wholly in German hands. Their régime had obtained a new outlet to the Mediterranean Sea, which, since the earliest records of the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, was the center of the history of the world, until Columbus and the Atlantic Ocean took its place. We of today have seen the stupendous change; the Great Ocean was to become the Middle Ocean for the earth's policy of the future.

What Henry II and Konrad II had accomplished through the acquisition of Burgundy now grew beyond the limits of the German people. Those two, through first strengthening the prestige and the preponderance of power of the German nation, enabled the empire to attain so far-reaching a superiority.

In the whole of Middle Europe Konrad II ruled. Canute reigned in the north, and these two held the fate of the continent in their hands. They drew still closer together. Konrad had at first planned a Greek marriage for his son Henry, (born 1017) who was elected and crowned as king in 1028, thereby proving that the ruler had political aspira-

tions in mind. The Greek wooing did not materialize, for the clear-minded and youthful sovereign cared naught for the mere Byzantine consent. Once more his thoughts were directed towards the blond daughter of the great northern king, Gunhild or Kunigunde, as she was afterwards called in Germany, the daughter of Canute. The wooing and engagement took place in 1035. At that time Konrad ceded to Canute, just as if it were simply a *Muntschatz* for the bride, the March Schleswig, the country between the Eider and Schlei.

It was the reward for friendship and for Canute having been a valuable ally for many years. The price does not seem too high for one who had just considerably enlarged the imperium of Germany, to pay. In reality, the region was only a frontier county, or advanced post. None the less, it was an unfortunate loss of a country acquired by Germany, and as such the historian unwillingly records it. However, it must be added that while a modern empire would not follow such a policy, it was in accordance with the times of which we are speaking. It would seem that there should be no complaint at this day, since we acquired the duchy which had long been detached from the empire, but whose inhabitants, even under foreign rulers, have always remained Germans and who have carried their national ideas farther North. Not only at the Schlei, but at the Royal Mead, flies the German

banner, a fact which is primarily due to the popular conquerors who have been mentioned.

In internal affairs, Konrad adopted a strong policy. It consisted in the main of a social care which contributed strength to the crown. Through the history of our people from time immemorial is interwoven the deathless desire to hold fast by inheritance to conquered positions. Whatever of non-Germanic administration ideas intrude, it always strives to change offices as well as feuds into hereditary land. We have often mentioned inheritance in connection with ducal titles, and thus the minor titled people, office-holders in the empire, the margraves, palsgraves, counts and other "princes" began to perpetuate their names in the same way. Here it was again Konrad, who helped these owners of feuds, over the heads of the upper classes, to gain continuous possession of that which they had received as feuds when only inferior subordinates, knights, etc. This meant for them the security of their family, for henceforward they began to be "families" in a higher sense, and more independent from their feudal lords. They looked forward to the authority of the crown for the continuance of their noble positions. At the same time the law guaranteed that they would be, in case of a violation of the feudal rights, judged only by men of their own rank,—that is by *pares*, in accordance with the feudal laws. It was during the reign of

Konrad that the written codification and the fixed rules concerning court privileges and servant privileges came into force. Thus this ruler brought the large class of professional warriors to the side of the imperial government, which acted as arbiter. His reign socially elevated this class of knights, who were armed and paid by their masters. The mounted knights soon rose above the free peasantry and, from the twelfth century, could change their positions to that of the lower nobility.

Only on one point did Konrad refuse succession by inheritance: that was when it endangered the crown, in the duchies. Bavaria and Suabia, which fortunately had been disposed of, were given to his son Henry, the future wearer of the crown. He thereby discontinued the duchy for the time. Similarly he presented the bishoprics, when possible, to members of his family, and thus created for his son, in place of disagreeable relations, faithful co-workers who could not be interested in the succession.

Archbishop Aribert of Milan had been for many years, and especially since the death of Leo of Vercelli, the most important representative of the empire and of imperial authority in Italy. He was ambitious and domineering, and since the Count of Tusculum had gained the upper hand in Rome, had placed Benedict IX, a ten-year-old boy, in the papal chair. Under him the disgraceful occurrences of

the days of John XII repeated themselves. Aribert believed the time had come to take up the old important claims of Milan. Thereby he hoped to gain once more the upper Italian primate for the archbishopric of the Holy Ambrosius, who would elevate it above Ravenna and make it in exterior ecclesiastical power equal to Rome, the Middle Italian primate. Difficulties arose because the lesser noblemen in Italy, the *Valvassores*, strove to obtain the same assurances that Konrad had given to the Germans. They organized an association which strongly opposed the upper classes of noblemen, the *Capitani*, as the bishops, abbots, margraves and counts were called, and bitterly fought their protector and leader, Archbishop Aribert. It was principally this situation which caused Konrad, some time later, to take charge again of matters in Italy.

Konrad aimed originally to forestall the *Valvassores*, for through their opposition to Aribert a hostile tendency toward the empire had appeared. But when the emperor arrived in Italy, he was convinced that the manner in which Aribert acted as representative of the empire, had been extremely selfish and dangerous. Moreover, he could hardly refuse to the Italian *Valvassores* that which he had introduced in Germany as an act of justice and as an advantage to the crown. Soon Aribert, whom the emperor had installed to strengthen his own authority, but not to be his arbiter, became so inso-

lent that Konrad broke with him entirely. The archbishop wished to rule further, regardless of the emperor. In Milan he summoned all classes of the population to rise against the foreign empire. He drilled the improvised foot-troops and invented the "Carroccio," an ironclad wagon which carried a crowned mast bearing the image of the Holy Ambrosius. This was the standard around which flocked the enthusiastic warriors of Milan against foreign rule. He also pressed the claims throughout Lombardy of an opposition candidate for the Italian Crown, in the person of Odo of the Champagne. In the towns of Northern Italy vicious street fighting took place between the opposing parties. It was fortunate for Konrad that Odo was conquered and slain in the battle against the brave Gozelo of Lorraine before Bar.

It was all-important that Aribert and the Capitani should be separated from the Valvassores. Consequently, on May 28, 1037, the famous *Constitutio de feudis*, the "edict regarding feuds," was announced. Through these the inheritance of feuds and the competency of the feudal courts, formed by *pares*, was also introduced in Italy. From the latter, the only appeal was to the emperor or to his Pfalzgrafen, as representatives of the imperial court. Through this law, which became the foundation for the feudal right in Lombardy, and for the further social development of the country, Konrad had based the posi-



tion of the empire in Italy upon the middle laymen, taken away from the higher clergy. At first the success was marked, but later on, the national trend in Italy again took possession of these Valvassores classes, to whom the empire appeared in the light of only a foreign régime, which naturally could not have been foreseen.

In spring, 1038, Konrad went south, trying to restore order, without entirely changing the conditions in Lower Italy. The Normans had built the stronghold Aversa in the Neapolitan region, after which their small county was named. They received the latter, as feudal men, from the Lombardic Prince of Salerno, who was countenanced by Konrad. In the summer of 1038, Konrad was compelled to return to Germany by the serious sickness in his army, without having wholly subjected Ari- bert. He himself fell ill and died on the 4th of June, 1039, at Utrecht.

No emperor since Otto I had proved the inherent strength of the empire as had Konrad II. His reign demonstrated that strong authority is the principal foundation of a monarchy which has to govern many small principalities, when it must act in the name of justice and exercise equalizing care. Konrad founded on his private estate the beautiful abbey Limburg-on-the-Haardt, and also built the dome at Speyer. This beautiful Romance structure was commenced in 1030 and finished in 1061. Kon-

rad himself was laid to rest in the Crypta, only the intestines being buried in the vaults below the chorus of the Dome of St. Martin, at Utrecht. As a rule, Konrad was not a man of the Church. He considered the bishops merely princely office-holders and supporters of the empire, and not appointed councilors. He did not allow them to forestall any of his intentions and without hesitation tore himself free from Aribio, who had secured the throne for him. Nor did he pay much attention to the Puritan reform movement led by Cluny in the Clerns, although it was directed against the demands for power by the high clergy. He simply did not care about it; clergy was clergy to him, and nothing else. There was nothing in any direction through which the historiographers could make of Konrad a pious emperor. Since at that time only clergymen could write and edit extensive historical books, the career of this powerful emperor was treated in a sober, matter-of-fact way, which naturally speaks much better for itself. They have not made him popular with posterity, and the great statesman does not seem to have been fitted, on account of his matter-of-fact personality, for being well liked by the people. The beautiful poetical farewell and the newly written biography stand out favorably. Both were dedicated to Konrad by his court chaplain Wipo, who knew him well. Konrad II deserves to rank beside Karl the Great, Henry I and Otto the

Great, who had many points in common with him. All were laymen and reached the throne without superior education. Konrad II, during whose time the "World" and "Church" began to oppose each other sharply, remained more than ever a layman while wearing the crown.

## CHAPTER XV

### HENRY III

**H**ENRY III ranks as the greatest of all the German rulers of the Middle Ages. Indeed, he represented the empire magnificently when he was at the height of his real power, and he instilled into it lofty professional ideas in connection with the monarchy. But we must add that it was Konrad II, who acquired the authority through which Henry III was so successful, and the latter used it without preserving or adding to it.

At first the East gave the opportunity for testing the united strength of the German monarchy and its army organization. The great Slavonian empire of the Poles was decayed, but as soon as it became known that Konrad had died, Bretislav could not resist the temptation of founding a Bohemian empire for his country. He first invaded Galicia, called the Southern "Little Poland"; then he advanced through Silesia to Guesen, where Boleslav Chrobry formerly resided. There he stopped and a regular Hussitic scene followed. For three days these new Czech Christians fasted and prayed on the grave of Adalbert; then they collected the bones

of that saint and took them to Prague, where, instead of at Guesen, the clerical metropole of the Slavs rose above the grave of the famous Bohemian martyr. But none of these occurrences accorded with Bretislav's title as prince of the empire. The energetic and ambitious prince of the Czechs had scarcely thought that the German succession to the throne would take place as smoothly as it did. After several campaigns, King Henry conquered him in 1041. Bretislav was compelled to appear at Regensburg, in the customary robe of the penitent, to renounce all his countries excepting Bohemia-Moravia, to pay a fine of 8000 pounds in silver, and to surrender his duchy to Henry, who received it back as feuds with the color-lance. Thenceforward Bretislav was faithful as a vassal and Bohemia remained, through a generation, a reliable supporter of the imperial house of the Franks. This attitude was in no small measure due to Henry, who at that time recognized Mesco's (died 1034) young son, Kasimir, as Duke of Poland. He helped the latter to maintain himself against the Polish nobility, the "Schlachta" (Schlachta is a word borrowed from the old High German *slahta*, kin), whereby a proper counterbalance was created in the East between Poland and Bohemia. Similar opportunities offered themselves in Hungary. There King Stephen died, in 1038, and Peter, a son of his sister from the house of the Venetian Orseolo, succeeded him. But

the foreign-born king gave to the reaction which had long been brewing in the country against Stephen's Christian monarchy, new cause for agitation. He was compelled to flee; Aba (sometimes written Ovo), a relative of the tribe of Arpad, was made leader of the people and king. This was a crushing triumph of heathendom and of the wild tamelessness of the ancient Magyars. Aba considered it his duty to abolish the thin cover of European culture which Stephen had given his country, and it seemed as if the olden times of Hungarian robber doings had returned when he invaded with his swift cavalry the Bavarian East March. Henry was obliged to intervene, even if Peter had not sought shelter with him. In 1043, he forced through conquest the return of the country up to the March and Leitha, which was surrendered in 1031, and now remained German. It was quickly colonized by that people. On July 5, 1044, he gained an overwhelming victory at the Roab over his opponent, who had risen again, marched with Peter to Stuhlweissenburg, and returned his empire to him in the crown city of Stephen. Probably Peter took at the time the oath of allegiance, and the Bavarian common law was introduced as the law for Hungary. Aba, a fugitive on the other side of the Theiss, was captured and condemned to death by a united jury of Germans and Hungarians. On a visit which Henry

paid to the Hungarian king in 1045, traveling down the Danube from Regensburg, the latter formally accepted his country as feud from the German empire for life.

The golden Hungarian Royal Lance which Peter on this occasion placed in the hands of Henry was sent by the latter as a present to the pope. Later on, the popes claimed to be the lords of the crown of Stephen. The opportunity had been favorable for overturning Otto III's sturdy attitude concerning the Hungarian crown. Thus not only had a new vassal state like the Polish and Bohemian been seemingly created, but another territory for the nation had been won, with its Bahowaren rights and inhabited by many Germans. While their military power could accompany Peter back to his throne, it could not protect him from cowardly attack. In 1046, the king was ambushed, blinded and crippled. He lived for ten years in suffering and misery. Arpad Andreas, a nephew of Stephen, was made his successor, but proved indifferent to his duties.

Henry's wife Gunhild had died in 1038. The camp disease which at that time compelled Emperor Konrad II to return hurriedly from Italy, carried off also the young Danish woman who, with Henry, accompanied the army. She was laid at rest in the cloister of Limburg. In 1042, the king sent noble wooers to Agnes of Poitou, the daughter of the

Duke of Aquitaine, asking for and receiving her hand in marriage. This union may have had its origin in political schemes, for the relations of Agnes must have felt greatly honored to have her made queen and future empress. They were of exalted standing and had many followers, in France as well as in Burgundy and Italy. But the marriage was also an affinity of mind and soul that brought them together, for Henry III, as successor to the throne, had received all the education that the times could give. This, as it grew, led to the world of conceptions and the history of the philosophy of the Church. He was no longer the simple layman as his father, whose lack of Christian zeal the son regretted, had been. He was like Henry II in his aspirations for reform, and went even further than this ruler in his piety. In all his religious exercises he was a conscientious, even ascetic man. Naturally his thoughts were strongly drawn towards Cluny, in the fine discipline of whose cloister Agnes had been reared.

The cloister, situated on a tributary of the Saone, in the territory of Macon in Burgundy, was founded by the Aquitanian Duke William, and opened in 910. It was not under the rule of a bishop and was responsible only to the pope. At that time there were only Benedictine cloisters, consequently Cluny was one, but the rule of the Holy Benedict was enforced more strictly there. Cluny,



especially under the second abbot, Odo (927-41), descendant from a West Franco-German house, was a school of severe discipline, of asceticism and also of hierarchical thought. Because of the fact that through Cluny new cloisters were founded and old ones reformed, an entire company was created which was called the Cluniacensic congregation. It received, at the beginning, little sympathy from Germany, although it was favored by Empress Adelheid, the founder of Selz. Italy was a land of moral degradation and without discipline among the middle and lower clergy. Therefore, the Burgundian cloister directed its activity as early as the tenth century, not only towards France, but towards Italy and, aided by parallel activities like those of the Holy Romuald, it could soon extend them farther. Abbot Odilo (994-1048) often met Otto III in Italy and was also in communication with Henry II. Emperor Henry's moral and religious sentiments led him to the side of the reform, which was not agreeable to the German episcopate. These bishops were grand seigneurs from the noblest houses, proud princes and rich landowners who were personally well satisfied in the sphere of magnificent court life, of brave manhood and of noble warriors. They manifested great interest in art, which they fostered by erecting magnificent buildings. They understood the puritanism of Cluny, because to remove everything worldly from the

Church meant logically a position inimical to their own. For, when the reform movement turned against the law forbidding investiture, it was directed not only against open and secret bargaining in large and small clerical offices, dignities and incomes, but also the less harmful exchange of material favors and honors between crown and episcopate. Still another consideration was the relation of the clergy to the worldly powers. It may be said that the whole princely existence of the high clergy was grouped around the court and crown. The German bishops were not anti-papal, but they did not ask for a rigid, blind, hierarchical obedience. They preferred to have a word or two to say concerning the governing of the German empire, rather than to be the docile puppets of a papacy led and advised by a Cluniacensic monk. Such a man, who included a princely ambition, was Aribio of Mainz, the leader of the episcopate, a highly educated, brilliant person who, it may be mentioned, caused a rearrangement of the Waltarisong of Ekkehard the First, by the fourth Ekkehard. Cologne rivaled Mainz as an archbishopric, consequently Archbishop Pilgrim was on the side of the reformers who already had found an entrance into Lorraine and the Lower Rhine lands through French propaganda. Henry II was a supporter of the movement, the more so because he could see in it a lever against too great political demands from the epis-

copate, and he found it worthy of furthering through the monarchy.

In the midst of these controversies, a synod of the bishops formulated their resistance at Seligenstadt, in August, 1023. It was there decided that German juries could appeal only to the pope, with the permission of the bishops, and the verdict of the pope should be valid only after the judgment of those juries had been carried out. In other words, the appeal did not mean anything whatever. It was the first bold step to a German national Church, free from the pope, and was done as a defense against the increasing power of the episcopate, through the lower monks and a papacy which could probably, in connection with the Cluniacensic efforts, succeed and lead them to victory. Henry II saw in the German synodal acts as affecting the whole situation only rebellion, and thus the moment passed which, if improved, might have saved Henry IV a great deal of suffering as well as the quarrel over Investiture. The answer of the emperor to the acts of Seligenstadt was a true cloister reform in Lorraine, in which Abbot Poppo of Stablo took a prominent part, but the same thing occurred in Reichenau, Fulda, Corvey and Memleben,—that is, in Suabia, Franconia, Westphalia and Eastphalia,—almost everywhere through the use of force against the monks, who objected to the stricter rules, and the reform abbots. The first counter acts were taken

against the so-called Nicolaitism. A vague allusion to John, *Revelation* 2, 6 and 15, called attention again to the matrimony of the priests, which had continued everywhere, notwithstanding several edicts of the councils of the fourth century, and which could have been redressed by referring to other passages in the New Testament. Only in case of the bishops had celibacy been successful during the reigns of the Carolingian kings. The measures taken by Henry II towards the continuation of matrimony on the part of the priests did not change at any time. In respect to a direct administration of the church property, Henry insisted upon that of the receivers of worldly feuds. This was again done in harmony with Cluny, because it shortened the immediate revenues and the splendor of courtship for the clergy. The main point was to add strong forces to the crown for the army, and this marked advantage was increased by Henry, who shortly afterwards secured those "Lehn" through inheritance. Thus, the aims and interests of these opposing ideas of the time became interwoven, and no historian would presume to say what Henry as a far-seeing ruler ought to have done in the interest of the empire. When he crossed the authority of the episcopate, the later rise to power of popedom over the imperial crown was made possible through it and the favor of the Cluniacensic aspirations. But at the time, popedom and Cluny had naught in

common and the German crown looked upon the pope as the first of its bishops. It considered him at the utmost as in the class of Aribio and his associates, so far as it expected difficulties from that direction, and also believed it could curb pope-dom by the Cluniacensic reform.

This was the effort of Henry III, a ruler who was much more enthusiastic and direct than Henry II, with his whole soul devoted to the Cluniacensic ideas of an ascetic life and a dogmatically refined religion. Meanwhile, the negation of the world and especially the real meaning of this dogma, became more pronounced. For the Cluniacensic form of ecclesiastical thinking the *mundus*, as representing worldliness and worldly life, the unworthy and the lower being, was the enemy itself. Stately proficiency, brave deeds, political industry, even manly virtues of any kind were useless and simply "splendid vices," as Augustine had already called them. His teachings and historical philosophy had become more dominating than ever. All joy over earthly abilities, and especially all worldly aspirations were deemed sinful, and life itself a yearning in the valley of pity which could only be somewhat atoned for by asceticism and penitence, and could find no relief except through death. The supersensitive state of God was real existing being, and all that was perishable was only a parable, with the aim to teach the worthlessness and pitiful state of the *mundus*, of

everything worldly, in order to further the magnificence of a superearthly reality. The Church, however, in this dualism occupied the position of an intermediary. It could in itself be only a parable, the earthly symbol of the nature of God, which as such was called upon to lead and reign over everything material, to lift it from its unworthy condition and to go over finally to the state of God, the fulfillment of the destination of the world, the heavenly and everlasting empire which succeeded the four earthly monarchies. This was the world of thought to which, almost half a thousand years later, Raffael Santi, taught by eminent learned men of the Church, dedicated his marvelous painting in the Vatican Stanza—the conjoined representation of the upper and lower nature of God, the apotheosis of the thought of the Middle Ages. Of course, this dogmatic-philosophical, or one may say church-historical image could not be understood by the people of that day, which was no longer of the Middle Ages, but of the existing Renaissance, and is therefore referred to in art history under the strange title of “Disputà.”

In the meantime, the aspirations of Cluny moved again in the direction of practical Christendom, especially when it served to prove the insignificance of worldly power. France, with its weak kings, had already in the tenth century become an empire of vicious feuds and general unrest. Thereupon, the

Church took up the thought of a public peace, going further than the ordinary church creed, and which should no longer be the peace offered by the king through the virtue of his office, but a divine peace, a *treuga Dei*, (or *treva Dei*, *treve de Dieu*). Its practical, fundamental thought was to except certain days, things and persons from the feud. Such a divine peace was first inaugurated in Burgundy, to which Cluny belonged. There, where Konrad II had to be contented with the recognized authority of his reign, but was obliged to leave the detailed administration chiefly in the hands of the former factors, he considered it a gain rather than a loss to encourage the efforts in the direction of the divine peace. In France, a general divine peace was installed through the combined efforts of Odilo of Cluny and the French bishops, in 1041, in which an armistice was agreed upon to last from Wednesday evenings until Monday mornings, (the Truce of God) and for a certain number of weeks around holiday time. Henry III had decreed, since 1043, zealous hortations and rules in the direction of the divine peace, but expressly within the limits of the royal peace authority. The real "*treuga Dei*" had not been announced within the limits of the empire until 1081 and then only in a few dioceses of western Germany.

Agnes of Poitou came from that strange southwestern Gallic-Aquitanian country, where hot-

blooded sensuality and haughty self-importance had been from time immemorial in touch with the extremes of asceticism, the killing of the senses, and the belief that the whole world was divided into two kinds of radicalism. She belonged body and soul to Cluny, which was founded by one of her ancestors. She was related to Henry, inasmuch as both were descendants from King Henry I of Saxony. The relationship, under certain circumstances, offered a cause for divorce to the Church. Agnes seemed to have been troubled by no serious compunctions, and in the autumn of 1043, Henry brought his new spouse home from the western frontier of Burgundy, whither he had traveled to meet her.

It is impossible to misunderstand the zeal of Henry, for his private as well as royal doings, in behalf of the Cluniacensic ideals which had even increased since his marriage with Agnes. This physically tender and weak king underwent penance and had his bare back whipped by his confessor. No traveling minstrel was allowed to appear at his table; all such were cruelly beaten and driven out of his country, at a time when the bishops enjoyed their luxuries and entertainments offered by male and female performers. The king in 1047 reproached the imperial clergy assembled at Mainz, declaring that all ecclesiastical grades, from the highest bishop down to the doorkeeper, had been



degraded by simony. And as Kónrad II had always accepted the honorary presents, customary since the time of the Old Germans, which were offered to the king and received by him as a matter of course when making ecclesiastical appointments, Henry openly complained that his father, whose salvation of the soul gave him great concern, had taken part in such damnable practices. There were, in the Cluniacensic ideas of the king, severe demands that the empire should be an universal and ecumenic empire, which in an exterior form would go hand in hand with the Church, and be the earthly representative of the heavenly state of God. To the imperial ideas of Karl the Great, Otto the Great and Otto III a fourth one, again altered, was added, with aims quite as lofty. Consequently, it was urgently necessary for Henry to receive the imperial crown from this side, it being the exterior sign of the empire, at Rome. In 1046, he traveled thither through the Brenner Pass.

He left behind him a man who was grievously disappointed. When Gozelo of Lorraine died, in 1044, Henry reestablished the separation of Lorraine, gave Upper Lorraine to the elder son of the dead man, Gottfried with the Beard, and Lower Lorraine to the latter's competent son Gozelo, who was called "the Coward." (Both brothers had the same name, for Gozelo is only a pet name. This practice of naming was a common one in the Mid-

dle Ages.) Gottfried with the Beard was next to his father as the latter's representative against Otto of the Champagne, and he felt hurt because he considered the division of his inheritance an injustice. It resulted in rebellion and war. After the submission of the duke, who had been interned for some time on the Giebichenstein, and after a reconciliation, Henry gave Lower Lorraine, not to the duke, but to the Count Frederick of Lützelburg.

At Rome, Benedict IX of Tusculum, who had become pope at the age of ten years, had tired of the papacy because of the quarrels with the local opposition party, and sold it to a priest, a relation of his, who called himself Gregory VI. The latter was known as an honorable and upright man, who probably had made the bargain to oust the disreputable Benedict from Peter's chair. The opposition party had already in the quarrel with Benedict named a pope, Sylvester III. And as Benedict, notwithstanding his bargain, finally did not renounce the papacy, but still claimed the office, there were three popes.

Henry arrived in Pavia in October, 1046, where he had resolutions passed against the simony by a synod representing the three parts of the empire. On December 20, the imperial synod met at Sutri, (belonging to the Church state, situated north of Rome). Sylvester and Gregory were not recognized as popes, and at another synod at Rome

Benedict, who had paid no attention to the summons to appear at Sutri, was deposed as pope. The removal of Gregory, as a self-confessed simonist, was a necessity. Three popes in the dust before the German emperor! Thus our easily satisfied historians report, as if it had been a great deed, and as if the deposition of three bishops who quarreled with each other had not been easier than the casting aside of one who sat undisputed in the chair of Peter. Then Henry secured a man after his own heart,—Bishop Swidger of Bamberg, who was made pope on the 24th of December. He called himself Clement II, and crowned Henry and Agnes on the Christmas Day following, in the Church of St. Peter. With Swidger, the series of German popes began through whom the quarrels of the papacy with the local parties and the immoral mode of living were finally extinguished. Thenceforward, the papacy, universally and hierarchically directed, with a strong conviction of its ecclesiastical profession, rose to splendor and power. Then Henry went to Lower Italy, where he named the Normanic Counts Rodulf of Aversa and Drogo—the latter had made conquests in Apulia—as direct possessors of feuds under the empire. By thus giving away Apulian feuds he disposed, in the name of the empire, of districts which had until then belonged to the Greek sphere of power. On his return, he succeeded at Rome through a papal bull

of the 24th of April, 1047, in having the Archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg-Bremen named as administrator of the entire North German lands as a province of the Church.

Clement II had died in October. He was buried in his native town, Bamberg, which was then a bishop's seat. The Romans, without being troubled by party politics, asked Henry for a new pope, and he named Bishop Poppo of Brixen, known as Damasus II. When the latter had reigned for three weeks, the emperor was again asked by the Romans for another pope. He selected Bishop Bruno of Toul, an Alemannic Alsatian, from the House of the Counts of Egisheim, from which Henry's grandmother, the mother of Konrad II, descended. After an apparent refusal, which became an evidence of modesty by those who were named as ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Middle Ages, he accepted the nomination on condition that the Romans should also elect him. He thereupon set out on foot, as a humble pilgrim, on his way to Rome, where he was jubilantly received and in accordance with his wishes, elected pope, before he took over the pontificate. Thus he had, almost unnoticed, won an important victory for the papacy,—the right of election for pope by "Clergy and People," which formerly had existed only with the consent of the imperial power, but had been wholly omitted for years. On February 12, 1049, he took possession

of the chair of St. Peter as Leo IX. The young priest Hildebrand returned with him to Rome. He was the son of country people in Toscana, probably of Old Lombardic descent, and a pupil of Gregory VI, whom he had followed into exile in Germany. He was presented to the newly-elected pope at Worms. Hildebrand was never a monk at Cluny, and should not be identified with the Cluniacensic clergy.

With untiring zeal, Leo began the reform of the Church and the strengthening of papal authority. He was a pope who did not restrict himself to edicts and shepherds' letters, but who was almost continuously traveling, as his own and best representative and inquisitor. He sometimes appeared with all the clerical splendor of his rank, leading church assemblies, at other times wandering as a barefooted pilgrim to holy places, whose popular veneration he augmented by thus humbling himself as the ecclesiastical head of Christendom. One of his principal achievements was the organization of the College of Cardinals, to which he assigned certain functions. Then he formed a special guard for the papal chair, which dispensed with the aid of the empire. He chose for this purpose the Normans of Lower Italy, who were a brave people, comparatively young in Christendom, but from a geographical standpoint were the best fitted to serve in such a capacity. Leo easily procured Henry's aid in his

undertaking. The latter placed at his disposal a small military detachment which he led with a few paid troops of his own against the Normans. He did not mind that many people could not understand why this strict, pious pope should seek military glory, and ride as leader at the head of his troops. But he was beaten and captured, on the 18th of May, at Civitale. He was not freed until he had made proper amends to the Normans. The realization of his plans by force miscarried for the time, but the restless man did not abandon his ideas. He boldly set out to enlist in his behalf the oldest enemy of the Roman Church,—namely, Greece,—which was itself interested in Lower Italy against the Normans. In the midst of his preparations Leo IX died, in April, 1054. Understood by few, he left the young Cardinal Hildebrand as heir of his aims and projects.

After the pope's death, the question rose as to how his successor could enter upon his high office. The Romans thought only of an installation through the emperor, and Hildebrand, too wise to resist, led the emissaries in person. The emperor and Hildebrand both agreed in everything, and chose Bishop Gebhard of Eichstädt, as Pope Victor II, whose election in Rome the emperor countenanced.

While all this was accepted as a free and full recognition of the empire by troublesome Rome, it

was different elsewhere. Henry thought he could handle matters with a firm hand in Hungary, and when the Bavarian Bishop of Augsburg made war at his own risk upon Hungary, the emperor took it as a subterfuge for more ambitious actions. In 1050, he ordered the frontier fortress of the Bavarian East Mark, on the mountain rocks of Hainburg, to be strengthened. In 1051, he advanced into Hungary with a powerful army, made up of Poles, Bohemians, Burgundians and Italians, without, however, getting very far, on account of the bad roads and difficulties in securing provisions. In 1052, a siege of Pressburg compelled him to return home. The next year, Andreas made a number of concessions in behalf of the imperial government, but he never fulfilled them. Moreover, in 1052, Leo IX crossed the Alps, in order to mediate between the empire and Hungary as states with equal rights.

Since his return from the first Rome march, the emperor had been busy in the west with Gottfried of Lorraine, whose cause found a brave and successful champion in the Count of Holland and Flanders, and an ally in King Henry I of France against the emperor. Not till 1049 did the latter succeed, with the help of the bishops who fought for him, in capturing Gottfried. Henry then gave Upper Lorraine to the Count Gerhard of Alsace, the ancestor of that House of Lorraine which reigned there

until 1738, and which succeeded to the throne of Austria through Maria Theresa.

But Gottfried faced still another life-task. Boniface of Tuscia, who had developed from a zealous and faithful adherent of the emperor's papal policy into an almost independent prince of the empire, had been killed on May 6, by a murderous arrow. His widow Beatrice, the only daughter of Frederick of Lorraine, was left alone in the midst of inimical vassals and neighbors, with her young son and two daughters. When Gottfried, the most famous warrior of the time, offered aid she accepted, and he succeeded in escaping the still watchful eyes of the emperor, and became the husband of Beatrice and the guardian of her children.

In 1055, Henry III appeared for the second time in Italy and halted in Tuscia.

Gottfried, on whose account the emperor had come, received the latter with messages of ardent assurances, and evidently desired no more than peace in his newly won position. But Henry's behavior towards him was so unforgiving that Gottfried fled from Italy to his old friend in Flanders, Count Baldwin. The emperor remained for a long time in Tuscia, energetically administered the government himself, ignoring Gottfried's authority, and tried to swing the Valvassores to his side. He compelled Beatrice and her children to remain continually with his imperial entourage.

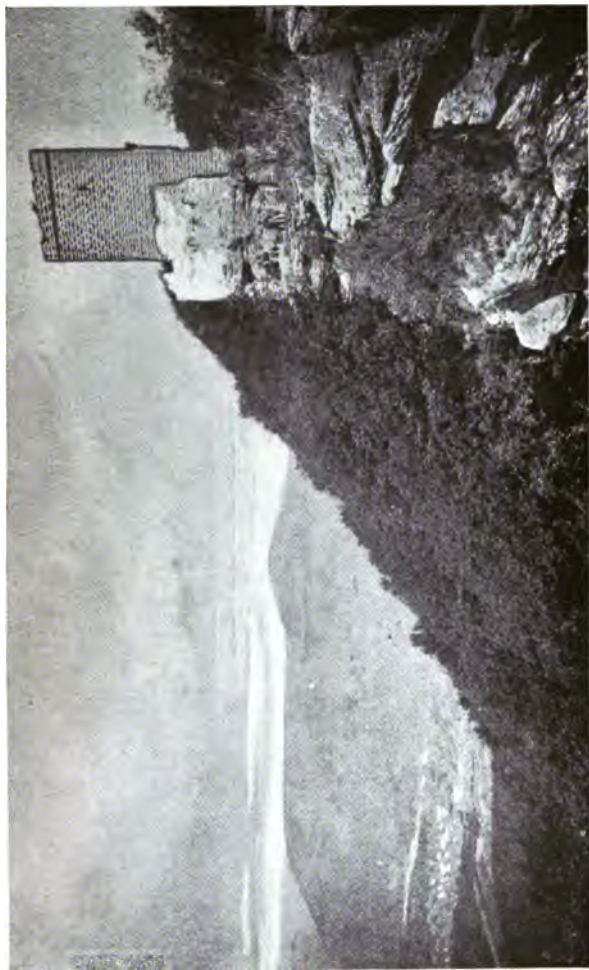


One of the daughters and the son died, leaving but a single daughter, Mathilde, the famous imperial countess, and friend of Gregory VII. Henry then returned many districts to the papal chair which the latter considered as patrimony, but which had been lost long before.

While the more important rulers of the Middle Ages up to that time were obliged to fight at the beginning of their respective reigns against the German dukes, whose obedience they afterwards enjoyed to their dying days, it was the reverse with the reign of Henry III. The emperor was compelled to return home in all haste from Italy, because ecclesiastical and lay princes in the south and east, in Bavaria and Carinthia, who were in alliance with the Hungarians, had openly revolted and even planned, according to some reports, to murder him. It happened that immediately on the return of the emperor some of these rebels died. Again the name of Welf, the same as at the time of Duke Ernest of Suabia, appeared as one of the conspirators against the sovereign. But Duke Welf, who had been given Carinthia with Verona in 1047, was lying dangerously ill in the Castle Bodman, near Lake Constance, and separated from his allies. Before he died, on November 13, he made a full confession to the emperor and delivered all the names of his conspirators, who were punished. Gottfried was still inclined to be peaceful, which was

gratifying to the emperor, inasmuch as Gottfried might have called upon France for help and would have received it. He was therefore allowed to re-join Beatrice and to take over Tuscia again. The relations of the two men, however, were never very friendly.

The emperor, who formerly had been certain of his irresistible power, had grown morose and was now inclined towards peace. He was lonesome and unhappy. He strove to win Saxony's friendship with the existing dynasty by making long visits there and erecting many public buildings. In the prosperous mountain town of Goslar, he had in 1050 built a stately imperial castle, on the site near which the Goslar people had sold (to be torn down) a dome that was much admired on account of its elegant model. This town, which afterwards was characterized in the twelfth century as one of the largest in Saxony, was also meant to be a beautiful residence seat of the empire. But the Saxons and their ducal House of Billungen, installed by Otto I, looked upon such innovation with strong dislike, especially since Henry had heretofore interested himself in Lower Germany, that is, in the ecclesiastical work of the archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen, instead of on the political side. Grave news came from the Slavic districts; the Liutizes, who had again become restless, surrounded and annihilated an army which was sent against them, in the



Trifels Castle as seen from the South.



Saxonian North March. This disaster broke the spirits and health of the emperor, who, because of the severe penances he had passed through, had not been strong.

Emperor Henry III died on the 5th of October, 1056, not yet 39 years old, at the Castle Bodfeld on the Harz. Today nothing remains there but green meadows. He was buried in the grave of his ancestors at the Dome of Speyer, which was then near its completion. His son Henry, recognized by most of the princes as successor, was less than six years old. This son was born to Agnes at Goslar, November 11, 1050, after she had been married seven years. The perils threatening the empire from the special ideas of government maintained by Henry III, did not become acute because his reign was too short, and now a child, with less steady and able regents than in the time of Otto III, and who had to remain under a long guardianship, succeeded to the throne.

## CHAPTER XVI

### HENRY IV—THE JOURNEY TO CANOSSA —END OF FRANCONIAN LINE

**E**MPEROR Henry III did not leave the empire quiet and firmly established, as did Henry II and Konrad II. There were ominous signs in the political sky. The guardian and regent of the child emperor was a young foreign widow, in need of support. Her fine religious education was rather a hindrance than a help in the task before her. It would have been far better had she been a sober, practical woman of strong and simple mind, something like the spinsters of the imperial house of Saxony, who, as abbesses, administered their offices with excellent judgment. In addition, they accomplished much good for art and literature. Their religionism may have been coarser than that of Empress Agnes, but it was sincere.

Rome made the best of the situation. Pope Victor II died in 1057, and the Romans who, in 1054, had been zealous in asking for the appointment of a pope, elected without consulting Hildebrand who heretofore seemed to have held the imperial authority, or anybody else, a brother of Gott-

fried of Lorraine or Tuscia,—Cardinal Frederick, under the name of Stephen X. This relationship made the act an affront to the imperial government, since it placed too much Italian power in the hands of one family. Stephen died on March 29, 1058. Before his death he put upon the clergy and the people of Rome the obligation to give the next papal election to Hildebrand, who had become the confidential man of this pontificate. The Romans,—that is, the local groups of Tuscullanians and Crescentians,—chose nevertheless a prominent member of their own party. Thereupon Hildebrand called a synod at Siena, the declaration being made that Rome was wherever the cardinals were assembled. The Bishop of Florence, a native of Burgundy proposed by him, was elected. At the suggestion of Hildebrand, he called himself Nicholas II. This reminder of the humiliation of the Carlovingian kings, gave matter for grave thought. Not till after the choice had been made was the empress-regent notified. As soon as the possessor of Rome had assumed the papal chair, the decree of the election of Nicholas II was announced at the Lateran Synod of Easter, 1059. This structure is the Cathedral of Rome, and the highest in rank of all churches in the Catholic world.

Through this decree the name of the man proposed for pope was given the inner circle of the bishop cardinals, who then, in conjunction with the

cardinal priests and deacons, closed the election. The other clergy and the people of Rome,—that is, the laymen-influence of the noble families, were subordinated to the mere giving of assent to these proceedings. From this resulted the *habeamus papam*. The empire received, simply as a matter of "due honor" to the proceedings, the announcement of the election with the words "*Salvo debito honore*," meaning thereby an acknowledgment of the facts and consent to them. Further, it was emphasized that the pope was sovereign of Rome by divine will, leaving the inevitable inference that the emperor was not. By clever wording, it was again emphasized that the pope, if there were a man qualified for that high office, should be elected "*de ipsius ecclesiæ gremio*," which meant from the Roman diocese. This rule, directed against any possible new German popes, indicated what the German popes appointed by Henry III had done for the rise and growth of the papacy. Hildebrand was convinced that the empire could no longer continue in the footsteps of Henry III, and it showed at the same time the bitter opposition of the Roman clergy against the Germans.

The German government was much embittered by this bold procedure and refused to receive the special messenger who brought the announcement. When Nicholas II began, in addition, to take up the Normanic ideas of Leo IX, the government desired



that the papacy should be ignored, but took no steps to bring it about.

Another party, however, was disregarded,—the local one. The latter, after the early death of Nicholas on July 27, 1061, sent a messenger to the empress with the request to name a new pope. Since the Lombardic bishops also demanded it, Agnes, in accordance with their wish, appointed the Bishop Cadalus of Parma on the 27th of October, under the name of Honorius II. Hildebrand had acted more promptly. He cared naught about the election decree, because the proceedings were too slow and the attitude of the Romans was too doubtful. He needed without delay a proper pope, before another was named, no matter in what manner it was done.

The connections of Nicholas with the Normans had been made by Hildebrand in the former's name. The brother-in-law of Richard of Aversa, Robert Guiscard, that is, "sly fellow," arrived in 1057 in the county of Apulia. He had come into possession by conquest of some lands in Lower Italy upon which the Roman chair had claims. He was therefore proscribed or shut out by a ban. Through Hildebrand's cleverness a pact was then made, by which Robert was confirmed by the pope as Duke of Apulia and Calabria, which title he had used, and he received as feuds the lands he had already secured by conquest. In acknowledgment therefor, he bound

himself to pay regular rentals and to protect the papal chair with the force of arms. It was again the Constantinian donation which was used as a legal pretext for this unheard-of arrangement. That and the pseudo-Isidorean Decretals were always Hildebrand's weapons, and although their blades were a miserable imitation instead of pure steel, he used them with telling effect upon the imperium, which was fettered within and without.

Henry found a second party coalition in Lombardy. Parallel with the cloister reform movement, urged by Cluny and furthered by Henry II, which was mainly directed against the worldly-thinking German episcopate, there began also in Upper Italy a reform measure. This was among the lower clergy and was directed against the luxuriously living high clergy. The movement as a whole was friendly to the empire, and was very popular among the lower classes of the laymen. It bore the national Italian stamp, inimical to Germany, which had been diligently used by Aribert in his fight against the head of the empire. These classes accepted the nickname that was given to them,—that is, *Patarenes* (from Pataria, the rag-pickers' section of Milan) as a name of honor, just as later on did the *Penses*, and became adherents of the Roman chair, particularly since the related ideas had become marked because of Leo IX and Hildebrand's influence. In 1059, there appeared in

Milan, coming from Rome, the Bishop-Cardinal Petrus Damiani, who was a young Ravennian fellow-countryman of Romuald. He was an enthusiastic literary champion of the ascetic reform in morals and an able assistant to Hildebrand, whose ideas were strongly political and hierarchical. Damiani led the Pataria to a complete victory in Milan.

Among the upper Italian bishops, Anselm of Lucca, a native of Milan, was connected with the reform party. Hildebrand hurried to him after the death of Nicholas and, winning his consent, had Anselm elected pope in unceremonious haste, on September 30, 1061. This was done at Rome, under the protection of the Normans and with the title of Alexander II. It now became a question whether that of Lucca, or that of Parma,—Pope Honorius II—could maintain himself, and with the latter was the party of bishops, friendly to the empire and inimical to the Pataria party. In this strained situation the imperial government was put aside through the ambition of a German archbishop, Anno of Cologne.

Empress Agnes had at first favored a man who was familiar with Romanic ways and was a quasi fellow-countryman of hers,—Count Rudolf, whose Burgundian and Alemannic possession stretched far between the Rhine, the Saone and the Walliser Alps. The twelfth century, which produced the

family names of the noble houses and extended this new custom in such a way as to connect prominent principes with a certain castle, called him Rudolf of Rheinfelden, after one of his Alemannic possessions. Agnes gave to him her daughter Mathilde as bride, and installed him as Duke of Suabia.

This duchy had been promised, by Henry III, in case it became free, to a native count, Bertold, from a very ancient and rich Suabian house, which since the twelfth century has been called that of Zähringia. In order to compensate him, Bertold was given, in 1061, Carinthia with the March Verona. Other Marches of Carinthia had already become independent under their own margraves, as Styria, afterward called after the Castle Steier, in 1035, and Krain, in 1040. However, the family of Eppenstein was so powerful in Carinthia that neither Bertold of Zähringia nor a duke appointed by him could take actual hold of the government, and the imperial authority did not take any steps to install the duke whom it had appointed.

At Agnes' suggestion the son-in-law finally relinquished his office, especially since Mathilde, who was almost a child when he married her, died early. A princely widow of Agnes' kind and Christian life will always be in harmony with the aspirations of the clergy, who are sure to gain influence over it. Bishop Henry of Augsburg became the immediate leader of the government. This roused the bitter

jealousy of Bishop Gunter of Bamberg, who formerly had been the imperial court chaplain.

Gunter was a noble, chivalrous gentleman who, as we are told, cared very little for the Holy Augustine of Gregory the Great, but liked to read in ancient records about "Attila and Amalung, and similar monsters," just as he himself was named after one of the Burgundian kings, famous in pre-historic tales. He was a patron of the poetry of his time, and so fond of great deeds and adventures that he took part in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1064, accompanied by several thousand warriors. The Orientals were profoundly impressed by the stately figure and handsome face of Gunter, whom they never tired of discussing. There were still such bishops in Germany when Emperor Henry III was doing penance by inflicting corporal punishment upon himself, and while Hildebrand attempted to drive the episcopate into blind obedience.

The partiality shown toward Henry of Augsburg excited the jealousy of still greater men, and Anno of Cologne triumphed through force over the other contestants.

The spelling of this name is given by some as "Anno," and by others as "Hanno," but the first is probably the better form and is to be taken as an endearing expression, like a name beginning with Ar or Arn (Arnhold, Arnfried). He was a Swabian, the confessor of Henry III, and took the chair

at Cologne in 1056. To Anno's party in the empire belonged Rudolf of Suabia and Bertold of Carinthia, an adherent of Anno. The Saxon prince Otto was another partisan. He was a relative of the Billungen and was afterwards named for his family possession around Northeim (near Göttingen on the Hamburg-Frankfort R. R.). To him Agnes had given the Duchy of Bavaria in 1061. The preference of the Augsburg man by the empress had also caused these two to throw their influence on the other side. Anno consulted with Otto of Bavaria and Count Ekbert of Brunswick. On Whitsuntide, 1062, the empress sojourned with her son on an isle in the Rhine, below Cologne, upon which in 710, the Holy Switbert had founded the monastery named after him Switsbertswerth. The town Kaiserswerth today no longer forms an island because, in 1214, one of the arms of the Rhine was dammed in. On a beautifully decorated vessel, Anno traveled down the river with some of his followers, in order to pay his respects to the empress. There was a festival banquet and afterwards Anno invited the young king, who was then only twelve years old, to inspect his vessel. The latter gladly accepted the invitation, while Agnes remained at the castle. As soon as Henry had boarded the ship, the men at the oars rowed with all their strength up the river. The vessel had already reached the middle of the stream when Henry

grasped the situation. He immediately jumped into the turbulent river, but Ekbert of Brunswick leaped after him and brought him back, struggling violently, to the ship. Thus the king was taken to Cologne. His abductors had also tried to carry off the insignia of the empire, but could find only a small part of them. Agnes was smitten with grief. She lived thereafter in brooding seclusion, caring little for the loss of her guardianship as regent, but she pleaded with streaming eyes that the jailers would allow her to see her little son from time to time.

The power of Anno, although now predominant in the empire, was certain to encounter opposition. This gained the upper hand in the summer of 1063. Its leaders were Adalbert of Bremen, one of the regents' guardians, and the Bishop of Cologne.

Adalbert was one of the most important men of the empire and the Church. He could have been pope in 1046, had he wished the office, but he renounced the honor in favor of the Bishop of Bamberg. The German count liked his archbishopric on the Saxon-Friesian coast, given to him in 1045, far more than he did the papacy and life in the midst of turbulent Italy and its worldly and clerical parties. He set for himself the great task of becoming the ecclesiastical metropole of the Germanic North, of the mission there and of the clerical organization. He was descended from the Counts of Goseck and was a

stately, handsome man, proud and amiable at the same time, a victor over hearts and will, who liked a gay and splendid life. In the eyes of the young king, the sober Anno, who was, nevertheless, a man of passion, could not stand any comparison with Adalbert.

Another factor appeared in the government. King Andreas of Hungary, threatened by his brother Bela and an old Hungarian party, had invoked the aid of the empire, but was captured, together with the small army sent to his succor and to bring him to Germany. Unfortunately, he was killed by the kick of a horse. Thereupon, in 1063, an important imperial campaign was set on foot, led by Otto of Northeim, a thorough military leader and Duke of Bavaria. Adalbert and the young king accompanied the army in person, but Anno stayed at home. At Wieselburg, where he was with his troops, he suffered an unexpected death due to excitement before the battle. With this, all resistance to the fine German army ceased. Andreas' son Salonno was declared king by the Germans at Stuhlweissenburg, and Otto of Northeim brought to the widow of King Andreas, as an honorary present, the sword which the Hungarians believed once belonged to Attila.

Adalbert had little trouble in educating the young king, who greatly admired him. He was declared of age in 1065, at Worms, in accordance with the



Franconian law, and was knighted. Of course the Italian situation was beyond his knowledge. Petrus Damiani, with the rashness usual among those connected with Hildebrand's party, called upon Archbishop Anno, who was then regent of the empire, to act as arbiter between Pope Alexander II and Honorius II. Anno, appearing in person, had decided at a synod in Mantua, in 1064, where also laymen were present, in favor of Alexander. The latter had insisted on his election by the clergy and the people of Rome, and therefore refused to recognize the papal election decree. But everything was not lost when Henry IV and his mentor strove to regain the former ascendancy of the empire over the popes. Italy had become the theatre for Anno's action and he was also on friendly terms with Gottfried of Tuscia. Thus Adalbert, at a diet at Mainz in 1065, brought to naught the schemes formed soon after Henry's becoming of age, when a campaign against Rome was decided upon at which the young king was to receive the imperial crown, and to reunite in the name of the empire the papal as well as the Normanic affairs.

The indignation against this continuous regency of the Bishop of Bremen continued to grow, not so much on account of the misused authority over Italy and the papacy as because of Adalbert himself. He had many royal decrees issued in his own favor; Anno had done the same; but the opportunity was

now lost to continue the practice. Adalbert caused still more dissatisfaction by his habit, when in good humor at the table, and in presence of the young king, of speaking slightly about all the other princes, and picturing them as ingrates towards the king who, as he remarked, had pulled them out of their deserved obscurity. The princes called an imperial assembly at Tribur in the beginning of January, 1066. There they demanded of the king that he should get rid of Adalbert or renounce his crown. Thus they spoke to the crowned ruler whose rights they had already usurped by calling the assembly. This was the beginning of the revolution. The leaders were Anno, Siegfried of Mainz, Otto of Bavaria, Rudolf of Suabia, and Bertold of Carinthia. Adalbert planned to escape at night with Henry, but one of the latter's officials betrayed his secret to the princes. After a stormy session the following day, there was nothing left for Adalbert but to flee alone, leaving the king in the power of the exultant princes. The guardianship of the Cologne party was actually reinstated over the ruler, who had already been pronounced of age. The authority of the crown was continually minimized. When Henry IV became seriously ill, in the same year, the impatient princes quarreled as to who of them should become his successor. Each wanted to rule; none wanted to be subservient.

Those were bad years for Henry. He became

sullen and indulged in vicious pleasures and in the favors of depraved women. In this unworthy way the boy sought distraction in his lonely friendless existence. These times formed the period of his mistakes, which were magnified by the clergy even after his death, and the contemporaneous literature written by his adversaries abounded with references to his delinquencies. It was now decided best for him to marry Bertha, daughter of the margravine of Susa. She was then only sixteen years of age and had been destined from the cradle by her father to become his wife. In that century it was not uncommon for children to marry. The old German custom of marrying at a mature age had been substituted, like many other things, by Roman usages. Henry, therefore, did not change his mode of living, and saw in Bertha only an additional mistress. It took years for her to succeed, through kind patience, in changing his warped nature, and their marriage at last became almost a happy one.

Then a reaction set in. The bishops, headed by Anno, the arbiter of 1064, had become too domineering to the Cluniacensic party at Rome, which saw in them a danger to its own hierarchical supremacy and suppressed them. This was at first a benefit to the king. Then, towards the end of 1069, Gottfried with the Beard, of Tuscia, died. His friends in Germany, in 1065, had been instrumental, on the death of his father-in-law, Frederic, in hav-

ing Lower Lorraine returned to him. There, as well as in Italy, he had been a strong supporter of the reinstituted guardianship. Henry could call Adalbert of Bremen again to his court as one of his followers, and now felt free to act. He thought of retribution, and of the conquest and punishment of those who had held him in their power.

At first he attacked Otto of Bavaria, from Northheim. He had been, in the somber past, with all his amiable qualities, one of the most honest and open adversaries of Henry. Otto was not a diplomat and therefore failed to hold his former allies beside him indefinitely. Upon Henry's triumph they forsook him and he alone was blamed. A certain Egino accused him of having made an attempt to have the king murdered. This accuser seems to have appeared in his own behalf, and evidently acted under orders. He approached Henry at the right time.

Thus Otto lost his duchy on the charge of high treason and was put under the ban of the empire. Only his fellow countryman Magnus, son of the Saxon Duke of Billungen, who always had been an adherent of Adalbert of Bremen, remained faithful to the man who had fallen from power so suddenly. They first meditated open resistance and Otto fortified his castle, in the *Habichtswald* (west of Kassel), but in 1071, the two were surrounded and taken prisoners. The king had become so powerful

in the empire that his former adversaries were eager to become his friends. Upon the advice of Duke Rudolf, Bavaria was given to Welf.

The old house of Welf had died out with the conspirator in 1055. A sister of the latter was married to Margrave Azzo of Este, in eastern Lombardy. It was his son who received the two Bavarian-Suabian lands, under the name of Welf I. Thus the house resumed existence as a young branch and again gained influence in the history of the empire.

Henry soon renounced those eager friends who formerly had surrounded him and accepted as intimates men of his own age who were not politicians. He liked especially the sons of certain counts. The other princes looked upon these new favorites with jealous eyes and tried to make them distrust the king, but they clung faithfully to him. With Rudolf and the latter's friends, Bertold and Welf, relations became more and more strained. Both parties already began to "mobilize." Thereupon, in 1072, Empress Agnes, who had taken the veil at Rome, strove once more to smooth the differences between her son and her old friend. For this purpose she came to Worms, guarded by a monastery of Cluniacensic monks, but soon departed with them. At a new meeting on Palm Sunday, 1073, at Eichstädt, a cordial understanding was reached between the king and the dukes. The cloisters in Bavaria,

Suabia and Franconia entered it in their church chronicles as an event of the utmost importance. Everything promised well.

Henry continued his father's policy towards the Saxons. He often went among them, because he liked the country and the people. He hunted in the immense imperial forests of the Harz, and between 1065 and 1069 had a beautiful castle built on the northern side of the forest, east of Goslar, which was called the Harz Castle. The Saxons saw in it only another Zwingburg. How little it was such was shown when the first son of Henry, who died a few days after his birth, was buried there in the church of the castle, and the remains of Henry's brother, who had also passed away in his early youth, were taken thither for burial. This castle church was a superb work of architecture which contained holy relics brought from Aachen. It looked as if the emperor wanted to create a second such city in Saxony. He also built the Sachsenstein, near Sachsa, Spatenberg near Sondershausen, Heimbürg near Blankenburg, and Hasenburg near Nordhausen. Saale's most important castle, Giebichenstein, was renovated and used for princely prisoners. Through all this, it was Henry's desire to add property to the crown in Saxony and to be regarded as the rightful reigning sovereign in the country. But he could not remove the jealousy of those who did not want a stranger for their king.

Ordulf, the old Saxon duke, died in 1072, but Henry did not wish to make a prisoner of war of Magnus, a friend of the Duke of Northeim and a duke of one of the most troublesome districts. There was much talk of actions by force and when, in the spring of 1073, the hated Archbishop Adalbert died, the excitement intensified, for the king's most reliable and powerful support in Lower Germany was gone. In the summer of 1073, a campaign was organized against the Poles, who would not keep the peace with Bohemia. The Saxons asserted that the hostile movement was directed against them, although the king resided peacefully at the Harzburg, which he certainly could not have done in such dangerous circumstances. Otto of Northeim, having been freed in 1072, called a diet which was visited by thousands, near Eisleben. He spoke to the masses, declaring that they must act in self-defense, and the immense assemblage appeared about August 1, at the Harz Castle.

It happened that Duke Bertold just then visited Henry, hoping to obtain the rule in Carinthia. The old prince mediated for the king and spoke to the clamorous multitude. With Suabian perseverance he harangued them, declaring that their undertaking had gone too far; never had a people dared to do so much and the empire would not tolerate it. There was still time for them to go home peacefully and their cause, if it were just, would not be

lost. They themselves could set a day when all the princes of the empire should meet in council, and it should then be decided by the king how to remedy their supposed wrongs. The Saxons were too confident to be frightened; they claimed that their cause was not that of the princes, and the king must tear down his castles. Until that was done there could be no further parley. It was to be a fight to death or victory!

Thereupon those interned in the castle packed up the insignia of the empire, and at night Henry, with Bertold and his other guests, left the beautiful house which he must now tear down after having erected it with so much care and at so great cost. The original guard remained and kept the provisions. The Saxons never thought that the king would be able to escape towards the mountainside and they were not vigilant. The little troop passed the castle door without hindrance and stole silently into the forest. They followed an almost invisible pass through the wilderness, under the guidance of a veteran huntsman, careful not to go near any villages in the Harz Mountains. They were a hungry, tired lot who carried naked swords in their hands. Passing Eschwege, they reached Hersfeld after several days and nights and there, in the comfortable Franconian cloister, found a much-needed rest.

Through the rebellion in Saxony the princes,



whose leaders were now Siegfried of Mainz and Rudolf of Suabia, thought to regain possession of the empire. Saxony and Thuringia were fully organized in their rebellion, and the king strove to act, promptly and vigorously, but was met with exasperating disappointments at every turn. The diets no sooner assembled than they adjourned. Whatever discussion they engaged in, they united in reproaching the king. He was virtually abandoned. At Christmas, in 1073, Siegfried of Mainz, who, as arch-chancellor of the empire, had a right to call for a royal election, summoned the princes of the whole empire to appear at a diet in Mainz. Henry, who feared that almost everything was lost, hastened to the Rhine in order to be near at hand. Then an unexpected and wonderful thing took place. A new party suddenly sprang up as if out of the earth. When Henry appeared near the Rhine, the citizens of the thriving town of Worms, the largest in Germany next to Cologne, marched out in brave array and exultantly escorted the king within their walls, after first driving out the bishop and officials of the town who sided with the princes.

This incident marked an epoch in the development of the German people. The citizens of Worms strode into the field and took a hand in events. All the other cities caught the thrill and began to move. The uprising was so sudden and unexpected that not only the bishops but the princes did not dare

to go to Mainz. The few who had arrived, fled in a panic. The German towns were notified that they were relieved from the custom duty in the royal toll places, which the grateful royal head had already given to the large business city on the Rhine. It was Henry again who now summoned the imperial diets. Nevertheless, he did not get any further with the princes who appeared, probably because he was too meek, too ready to forgive, yielding too much and confessing to about every charge made against him. The result was a disgraceful peace with Saxony at Gerstungen, on February 2, 1074, deeply humiliating to the empire; for it was agreed to tear down the royal castles, to reinstate all their former officers, including Otto of Northeim in Bavaria, and declare that "strangers" were to be excluded from having anything to do with the internal affairs of Saxony.

The destruction of the castles was to be directed by royal officials, who were to use dependent farmers that were compelled to give their services to their masters. In this manner the old German castles were built and in this manner they were torn down. The farmers in the neighborhood of the Harz Castle refused obedience, broke into the castle, robbed it of all valuables, demolished altars, dragged the remains of the royal youths from their graves in the castle dome, scattered them to the winds and set fire to the beautiful structure. They had been

ordered simply to demolish it. A reaction followed these outrages. The king was so incensed that he marched against the Saxons, after having in vain demanded satisfaction. The princes and bishops, in view of the violations even to holy property, could not refuse to join his army. Moreover, it was said that Otto of Northeim had aspirations for the kingship which were anything but pleasing to Rudolf of Eheinfelden and his party.

On June 9, 1075, Henry stood at the Unstrut, on the long North Thuringian plateau, where the battle of Langensalzawas was fought in 1866, and combined all the tribes of the empire, including Bohemia, in the struggle with the Saxonian-Thuringian army under Otto of Northeim. In the first line of battle, the place of honor, the Suabians fought bravely for the German empire. For centuries Germans had warred against each other. Notwithstanding Otto's skill and daring, the king was the victor. It was reported that some 8000 dead Saxons and Thuringians were left on the field. Thereupon the king penetrated the helpless country to the north of the Harz Mountains.

The princes now asked that their troops should be sent home, promising to appear again on the 22d of October for a continuation of the campaign, but Rudolf, Bertold and Welf did not keep their word. The first two had done penance for forty days because of the slaughter on the Unstrut, and decided

to have nothing more to do with civil wars or anything relating to them. But others ardently followed the young king, enveloped in glory and splendor, and the Saxons were forced to the wall. On October 26 they surrendered, and on the plain south of Sondershausen the king imposed a most humiliating penalty upon them.

The royal army was divided into two parts and between them were compelled to pass barefoot, Otto of Norheim, Magnus, and his brother Herman, the ecclesiastical princes of Magdeburg and Halberstadt who were the leaders of the insurrection, and many other noble lords. Life and property were not touched. It was an outwardly splendid triumph, and a poet of that period sung the Saxon War in Virgilian verses. The man to whom Henry was indebted for all this, both because of his military assistance and his skillful mediation, was Gozelo or Gottfried the Hunchback, the son of Gottfried with the Beard, of Lower Lorraine and Tuscia. In 1069, he had succeeded his father as ruler of the two provinces and of Verdun, whence this family came. Though his father had helped destroy Henry's youth, he remained loyal to him. Gottfried's sister was wedded to Count Eustachius of Boulogne, and was the mother of the Crusader Gottfried "of Bouillon." The duke himself was married to his half-sister Mathilde, who, like her mother Beatrice, was dominated by the clergy. She always

strove to unite her vast estates, inherited from her ancestors the House of Canossa, which comprised the counties of Mantua, Reggio, Modena and Bologna, with the estates of St. Peter. In 1071, she deserted her husband and went to Italy. This event roused Gottfried's loyalty, for the whole world wherein Mathilde was living was manifestly opposed to the unhappy king.

Alexander II died on the 21st of April, 1073, at the city of Rome. The following day Hildebrand was proclaimed future pope by a large crowd headed by his party. Great things were expected from him because of his towering ability, which made him the most famous of the great line. From the second century those who chose a pope gave him also a pontifical name, wherein the wish of the chosen one was considered. Thus Hildebrand became Gregory VII. Many Italian and German bishops urged the king to oppose this election; but he refused. Henry sent a representative to attend the consecration of the pope, whose election he acknowledged by calling him "pope by the grace of God."

Such adoration was in harmony with the nature of the young king. And if, from the standpoint of national history and of the imperium, we find the relations between state and papacy faulty since 1046, or even after the time of Otto I, we cannot help it. Once the German emperors had studied the loyal foundations of the papacy, they met with

many spurious documents which they were forced to consider genuine, and again, they were bound by cases of their predecessors. Moreover, they were medieval Christians and not men brought up in the protestantism or liberalism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but stood in the midst of new conditions and growing events. The more blameless and ideal the pope, the more homage the people and the king paid him, while many an ecclesiastical lord and Italian nobleman disliked the pontiff when he was not worldly enough to suit them. The general veneration caused intimate alliance and devoted confidence between the sovereign and the pope. Henry IV knew Pope Hildebrand, who had frequently visited the German court in Henry's boyhood, and made a tremendous impression upon the future monarch. Another simpler and more intelligible motive is to be added : Henry, crowned in 1053, was called king for twenty years and had reigned for seventeen, but was not yet actual emperor, because of the numerous upheavals. During his youth he was compelled to wait longer than any other emperor, and he regarded this fact as a disgrace. On the other hand, the imperial authority over the Holy See was well preserved from Otto I (962) down to the time of Henry III. His successor was firmly determined to defend this authority despite all adoration for, and hope of coöperation with, the pope.

Not so with Hildebrand. His first statement regarding Henry was the desire to "reawaken in him the love for the Church, to guide him to a worthy reign and to educate him for that purpose." To prepare for this without disturbance, he had two years. How could he who was in the midst of a civil war and whom the malcontents forever strove to dethrone, give attention to these hidden Roman dangers, especially since those against whom he fought were in favor of Hildebrand rather than of the Cluniacensian party? In his struggles down to 1075, Henry had hoped to bring about a reconciliation and an alliance with the pope against his hostile princes. He, therefore, increased his number of bombastic expressions regarding the position of the pope, thus humiliating himself, as he had probably learned to do during the unhappy years spent at the court of Anno. He must have looked upon his youth and previous relation to the Church as ungodly and sinful.

Gregory always clung to the teachings of pseudo-Isidorus. Out of these and his own new formulation, he wrought a policy which has come down to us as the "*Dictatus papæ*." There are written the grim and ruthless sentences: "The pope has the power to dethrone the emperor; the pope cannot be dethroned, nor can anybody rule over him; he has the power to free the subjects of wicked kings from the oath of loyalty; he has the privilege of disre-

garding others' decisions; he is infallible." At a synod, held February, 1075, at a time when the king was in utmost distress, the pope forbade the investiture, in accordance with which no layman could invest any ecclesiastical prince with office. He thus freed all bishops and abbots from their dependence upon the emperor.

Still the bishops were not in favor of the pope, and the Dukes Rudolf and Bertold saw in Gregory no hierarchic lord, but only a mighty protector. In vain did Henry try to surpass their humiliating letters to the pontiff. The Church began to look for its defenders and military assistance in the heart of Germany, as previously it had looked to the Normans and the older Gottfried of Tuscia. Then came the Cluniacensian reforms in Germany to the left of the Rhine; and Suabia, where Rudolf and Bertold of Zähringia were dukes and greater landowners, was the Promised Land.

After the subjugation of the Saxons in the autumn of 1075, Henry believed the more menacing perils had passed and was freer and more appreciative of his imperial power than he ever was in his youth when opposed by everybody. Without delay he sent letter after letter to the pope, demanding coronation as emperor. Gregory replied accusing him of having violated the investiture and having sinned during his youth, regarding which Gregory's previous letters had been silent. In addition, the



letter which came like a bolt from the serene sky clearly announced the right of the pope to deprive the king of his imperial authority. To the formal customary papal greetings, "*salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*" the pope added the startling declaration,—“Only in case the recipient obeys the Holy See.” The coronation was not absolutely refused, but was discussed lightly for the purpose of humiliating Henry and forcing unheard-of concessions from him. Henry's impatience to become emperor and his late political success encouraged him to proceed vigorously. Hildebrand had stretched the bow too far.

The king summoned the imperial princes to Worms January 24, 1076. Their attendance was significant. Of the worldly princes there was only Gottfried of Lorraine, but among the others were the Archbishop of Mainz and Trier, and twenty-four bishops. Everyone knew that his own cause was at stake.

Many complaints were made against the new pope. The manner of his election and the way he had governed the Church was one grievance. If the inhabitants of Magdeburg, as allies of the Saxons, and other insignificant clergymen had shamefully misrepresented the juvenile crimes of Henry, the episcopal clergy on the other hand had not omitted to call attention to the intimate friendship between Gregory and the pious Mathilde of Tuscia, and to

speak of a "scandalous cohabitation with a woman." Immediately after the first letter, Gregory had invited Mathilde and this woman to remove to Rome. They were permitted to accompany Gregory, during his military expedition into the Orient which he wished to undertake personally, and not in the form of a crusade. The death of Beatrice, in 1076, did not change Mathilde's plans and her "platonic" friendship. Such and similar complaints the assembled ecclesiastical princes made against the pope.

The imperial synod of Worms renounced their allegiance to Hildebrand, the pope whose dignity they had doubted, for ecclesiastical reasons. Henry notified the Romans and Gregory of his dethronement, or rather of his illegal papacy, closing the letter by words which do not lack impressiveness: "I, Henry by the grace of God, with all Out bishops. We tell thee: off with thee, who are condemnable by *sæcula!*"

The messengers who carried these letters to Rome tarried during their journey in Lombardy, where most of the bishops renounced their allegiance to the papal benefactor of the Pataria. The clergyman Roland of Parma joined the royal messengers to Rome, entered the Lateran synod which was called by Gregory, eight days in advance, and delivered the message in a most insulting manner. Gregory replied with: "Dethronement of the emperor by the pope, as ruler of Germany and Italy

[Burgundy was probably forgotten, or regarded as a part of Germany], liberation of the subjects from the oath of fidelity and from obedience, and excommunication of the king." He then appealed to the whole of Christianity against the schismatics of Worms, who blasphemed the name of God, and against the excommunicated king.

Henry had overestimated the regained firmness of his throne. The dukes, far from taking part in the struggle which was about to arise, saw in it a good opportunity to obtain what they had been striving for. Rudolf, Duke Bertold and Welf supported the priest who so strikingly inflicted punishment upon the king. Many other bishops joined them. They no longer spoke of Gregory as connected with questions regarding investiture and supremacy over Christianity, but rather of the king who had grown too powerful. The opposition spread throughout the empire; the ecclesiastical princes of Würzburg, Metz, Salzburg, Passau, Worms, almost all Saxony where Henry had rebuilt the destroyed castles, arrayed themselves against the emperor. With these worldly princes Gregory was in correspondence for some time, and shrewdly prevented the king from effecting anything in Germany. When Henry called an imperial diet, no one responded. But the princes of the opposition held meetings, one in Southern Germany, at Ulm, in the middle of August, and a general meeting at

Tibur, whither the Saxons had gone, in the middle of October. It was painful for the old enemies of the battles on the Unstrut to meet, but all went quite smoothly. The Saxons demanded that a Suabian should be made king. "Of course, we want a Saxon," others said. The South Germans had become the leaders and Rudolf was expected to be the sovereign.

Gradually the scene changed. The quick action of his allies and the threatened dethronement of Henry did not satisfy Pope Gregory. He preferred a humiliated and prostrated king to a new man joyously proclaimed by all. His legates and statesmen appeared at Tribor, among them being Abbot Hugo of Cluny, the most highly honored person of those times, and the godfather of King Henry. He well understood the tortured heart of Agnes, the king's mother, and the mediative efforts of Countess Mathilde. Mathilde and Henry were relatives and had a warm sympathy for the sovereign. For ten days they had struggled, yet the election of a king was postponed indefinitely. In place thereof, the assembled bishops and princes were asked to do all sorts of penance, imposed by the messengers of Gregory, who had omitted nothing. Hugo went with the Bishop of Verdun to Oppenheim, where Henry waited with his army. He found the young king willing to accept any offer: penance and absolute humiliation with regard to Rome, and a prayer

for absolution until February 22, at the latest. Gregory had won a double victory over the ruler and over his own party. For South Germany and North Germany had not rushed to the Rhine with splendid armies and moving banners to fix a date when the penance should be done, and pope, king and princes were to meet at Augsburg on February 22. The dukes and their more intimate adherents were the poorer politicians, and in their nervous indignation made the conditions worse: they determined to decide about the empire without regard to Gregory, if the king were not freed from excommunication until the date named. This compelled pope and king to depend upon each other.

Though Henry suffered severely because of Gregory's policy and influence, the empire itself was the most serious danger. The sovereign underwent humiliation before the pope in order to defeat his opponents. Previously he had been frequently humbled by the princes who aided him against the Saxons. He started to meet Gregory as soon as possible, before the latter could see the princes.

Those who had named the kind of punishment to be inflicted upon Henry meant to make the meeting impossible—for they fully understood the state of affairs. They occupied all the Alpine passes in Suabia and Bavaria. Henry, who had started from Speyer shortly before Christmas, with only a small escort, was forced to cross the Mont Cenis

by way of Burgundy. In this winter of 1076 and 1077, the snow lay from October till April and the Rhine was frozen over. All we learn of Henry's crossing of the Alps in the month of January was not exaggerated: how he was forced to climb on hands and knees in the storm-smitten mountains, where the path was hidden under masses of snow; how the shivering queen and her ladies were wrapped in skins of oxen, and all the horses had perished. These were features of that historical journey which Henry laboriously pushed to the end.

Gregory had decided to go to Augsburg, in accordance with the resolution adopted at Tribor. He did not regard it, therefore, as important to learn of Henry's speedy penance. At Augsburg he would control everything, and there were three more weeks until Henry's absolution. He therefore started for that city. When he reached Lombardy, he learned that the dukes had no escorts for him. They believed Gregory would without hesitation free the penitent king from the ban and become reconciled, after which they would have no need of him at Augsburg.

Lacking escort, the pope did not attempt to pass through Lombardy. He went to the castle Canossa, in the region of Reggio in the Northern Apennines. It belonged to the family of Mathilde, who, together with Hugo of Cluny, accompanied the pope. To this day we may see the stately, fortified walls of

the famous building on the craggy, precipitous rock. Here appeared the penitent king, seeking forgiveness, on January 25, 1077.

The bishops of Lombardy, as well as the counts and captains with their adherents, received him with great joy; they had waited long enough to win a king as leader against their adversaries. The deserted monarch saw a great army which was ready to aid him, and by means of which he could besiege and perhaps overcome Gregory. Yet what would he gain in Germany? He refused everything and appeared as a beggar at Canossa. Mathilde went to meet him, and rushed back into the castle to entreat the pope to admit the penitent king. Deprived of all royal insignia and dressed in a hairy garment, Henry followed her and, standing in the snow barefooted, awaited Gregory's reply.

The pontiff could not say that Henry had not done all penance imposed upon him, but if he freed him, the pope would lose the Germans who were opposed to Henry. Therefore, unheard-of cruelty and supreme haughtiness were his last refuge. He thought he could tire the patience of the penitent. For three days Henry waited in front of the castle, vainly attempting to reach the pope. All his prayers and tears were unheeded. It was a hard and cruel struggle against patience. Finally Gregory's plans were overcome by the tears of Mathilde, despite her love and admiration for Gregory.

Mathilde, overcome by the distress of the whole scene, begged on her knees; after humiliating herself even to the extent of washing the pope's feet, that he would absolve Henry. Wearied with much importunity, he finally consented. But the king had to pledge himself to enter into no agreements with the princes without the consent of the pope, and not to attend to his royal duties before the next imperial diet. He was only freed from excommunication. Thereupon, Henry attended the service and partook of the Holy Supper.

About the middle of February, the South German enemies of the king learned of the latter's absolution. Now they threw everything overboard and summoned the other tribes to Forchheim, March 13, where Konrad I had been chosen, hoping the plan of a new election would once more unite all. Gregory asked them whether he could not personally attend the meeting.

The princes preferred Gregory's absence, as was indicated by their reply to him. It became all the more important for the pope to go to Forchheim, and he asked Henry to accompany him, but the latter refused. Thus Gregory had to be content to remain a mere enemy of the princes and to send legates to the meeting. The higher aim of the papal decision with regard to the empire was lost. On March 13, the princes began to consider the matter. The next day Henry was dethroned, contrary to the agree-



ment at Tibur and Oppenheim and despite his absolution. Rudolf of Suabia was elected king.

As all well knew that this was done contrary to the laws, they carefully observed every formality. The bishops consulted each other in one room, the laymen in another. Among the former, Siegfried of Mainz first named Duke Rudolf, and the others agreed. The laymen awaited the decision of the bishops, and also agreed. The ceremonies during the election of 1024 served as a model. This was only a pre-election. On the 15th of the month, the real choice took place, before the people.

"It is not difficult to become king, yet difficult it is to remain," said a contemporary historian with regard to Rudolf. He was soon to learn this truth. At Mainz, where, on the 26th day of March, Rudolf was anointed and crowned, the people rose in anger, the afternoon following the celebration, resenting such playing of kings. They stormed the dome and the palace of the archbishop. Rudolf and his adherents, including the archbishop, with difficulty managed to save their lives by flight.

Meanwhile, Henry hastened back across the Alps. He, too, disregarded everything. The Carinthian count of Eppenstein he considered a duke, thus ignoring the Duchy of Zähringian. At Regensburg the Carinthians, Bohemians and Bavarians joined him and marched against Suabia. When in Ulm, he placed the German crown on his head and held

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judgment over Rudolf, Bertold, or Welf of Bavaria, whom his people had forsaken. They were put to death and their estates declared confiscated. In Franconia, the citizens of the bishoprics were ready to take up arms in Henry's defense. In many other places his partisans prevailed. This civil war lasted four years. Rudolf could no longer communicate with his valiant assistants in Suabia, foremost among whom was Bertold I of Zähringia. When the latter died at Limburg, a castle near the Raube Alb, his son Bertold, then in the prime of young manhood, succeeded him, in 1078. The fight grew more bitter after Easter, 1079, when Henry invested Frederick, from the family of the Counts of Beuren, the founder of the castle Staufen, with the Duchy of Suabia, which had become void after the decision at Ulm, and betrothed him to his daughter Agnes, who was yet a child.

Toward the end of 1070, Henry was prepared to attack Rudolf in Saxony. But in January, 1080, the latter was victorious near Flarchheim, on the north Thuringian highland near Mühlhausen, which had witnessed so many battles of German civil wars. On March 7, Gregory again excommunicated Henry and his adherents. The former insisted upon the universal monarchical idea of the Church, its power to overthrow the empire founded by Karl and Otto I, and to be enabled to establish a kingdom by the grace of the Apostolic See. Gregory's con-

temporaries well understood him when they told each other, and believed, that Rudolf had received the crown from the pope and that it had inscribed on it: *Roma Dedit Petro Petrus Diadema Rudolfo*, —that is: “Rome bestowed the crown upon the pope, and the pope upon Rudolf.”

Yet arms and the papal excommunication were powerful only through their enforcement; repetition lessened their effect. A synod held at Brixen excommunicated and dethroned Hildebrand, “the preacher of arson and sacrilege, the protector of homicide and perjury.” Rudolf, Welf and their adherents were also excommunicated. Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, was chosen pope and assumed the name of Clement III. Henry then hastened to northern Germany from southern Tyrol, to press a decision. The latter took place October 15, 1080, on the battlefield of Molsen, between Elster and Saale. The valor of the Saxons and the strategy of Otto of Northeim triumphed, yet when night fell, Rudolf passed away. A wound caused his death, and his right hand, with which he had once taken the oath of allegiance before Henry, had been cut off. This manifest divine judgment made a profound impression. Henry was victorious, and Rudolf’s cause was crushed. Far from his home and his old duchy, the man from the Rhine whose ambition destroyed his life happiness, was buried, in the dome of Merseburg.

Henry's adversaries were separated, Suabia and Saxony each for herself. Henry's young son was to become king of the latter, and thus the idea of a northern state seemed to fulfill itself. The negotiations, however, were fruitless and North and South Germans once more came in contact with each other. Count Hermann of Lützelburg was elected as their king in 1081, at Oxenfurt on the Main. He was an unimportant man, not even the head of his family, and for this reason was chosen. The fact that Otto of Northeim was not elected overthrew the opposition. For seven years this kingdom of Hermann lasted, without making any impress. He was hardly recognized in Saxony and, in 1088, he abdicated and was killed soon afterwards.

The resistance in Suabia was as strong as before, but it assumed a character which did not interest the Saxons. In 1077, Abbot William of Hirson introduced the rule of the Cluniacensians, and Hirsau, the monastery in the Nagol Valley, was made the center of reforms of the Suabian institutions. During the following years almost all Suabian monasteries were "reformed," including St. Blasien in the Black Forest and Reichenau, both places for literary champions with Gregorian ideas. Other monasteries were founded, among them the Zähringian domestic one,—St. Peter, on the heights of the Black Forest, above the valley of Dreisam. These numerous monasteries were purposely located in the gloomy

depths of the Black Forest. The farthest was St. Georgen, near the waters of the Brigach, one of the two brooks that make the Danube. They opened the Black Forest to colonization, to asceticism and to struggle against worldliness. Bertold II, son of Bertold of Zähringia, was loyal to Rudolf's son Bertold, whom the Suabian opposition had elected duke. He died in 1090 and was succeeded by Bertold of Zähringia, who inherited the large Burgundian-Suabian estates, as the husband of the last female offspring of Rudolf, and as Suabian anti-duke against Frederick of Staufen (Beuren). The Zähringian's brother Gebhard was chosen bishop of Constance in 1084. He soon became Apostolic Vicar in Germany and displayed great loyalty toward the Holy See. To be *fideles Sancti Petri*, "loyal unto the pope," was an honorary claim which the Gregorian party in Bavaria assumed. Loyalty towards the empire, and the pride with which the Suabians always fought its battles, have been forgotten. The only monastery that opposed the Suabian was St. Gall, under its valiant Abbot Markward of Eppenstein.

On the same day the battle of Mölsen was fought, the Lombards defeated the army of Mathilde of Tusciana. In Germany, the opposition was overthrown and deprived of its leaders. Henry could now attempt to make use of the favorable state of affairs in Italy, as he had learned the decision, and

he crossed the Alps. He came before Rome and, after futile negotiations with Gregory, occupied the city in 1084, except the Angel-castle, whither the pope had retreated. Pope Guibert had entered the city with Henry. On March 31, 1084, Gregory could only listen to the ringing of the bells in the Church of St. Peter, while Guibert officiated, and crowned Henry and his wife. Gregory sought the assistance of the Normans. Robert Guiscard, "by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and future King of Sicily," stood as a mighty ruler in the center of the Mediterranean. He had already essayed to attack the empire of Byzantium and to deprive it of the Epirotic-Grecian territories on the Adriatic coast. Since 1080, he had been a personal friend of Gregory. The latter called him and he responded, advancing with an army of 30,000, including a considerable force of Saracens. Henry withdrew to Tuscia, but the Roman citizens tried to defend the place. The Normans, however, fought their way in, May 28, 1084, and looted the city for three days, continually shouting "Guiscard! Guiscard!" and terrorizing the inhabitants. Fire completed the destruction. Among many other buildings, those near the Lateran were destroyed, and of the Colosseum only ruins remained, which the modern tourist inspects with wonder and awe. The assistant Gregory had called was far too wild and unrestrainable, and after the

Normans had withdrawn he could no longer stay in the city. With his wicked savior he went to Lower Italy.

Gregory spent the last year of his life at Montecassino, Beneventum and finally at Salerno, where he died, May 25, 1085. Though inflexible in his resistance to Henry, and in enforcing his papal claims, he passed these last days under the impression of having made a stupendous failure. The whole bitterness of his futile life's work was expressed by the dying man himself,—“ I have revered justice and hated baseness, therefore do I die in exile.” The greatness of his efforts, and the grandeur of his ideas will always remain his glory, as the pride of the Roman Church.

The Gregorian party and Christianity remained without a pope for a year. It seemed as though the last one had been too powerful for a successor to be tolerated. In 1086, the aged Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino was chosen, but he hesitated to accept the office, and when he did so, in 1087, died soon afterwards. Cardinal Otto of Ostia was elected March 12, 1088. He was a former legate and assistant of Gregory, the heir of his spirit and his work. In history he is known as Urban II. The day after the election, he sent messages to the Gregorian bishops in southern Germany, to Duke Welf and the two Bertolds, the son of Rudolf and the Zähringian, and to “ all others who were faithful unto

St. Peter." He condemned whatever Gregory condemned, and revered whatever Gregory revered. He wrote, "God, who is a God of peace, might soon enable these loyal ones to crush Satan." The boat of the church again sailed with firm rudder.

The destructive war in Germany continued. The Saxons were not very active, especially after the death of Otto of Northeim, in 1083. In the regions near the Lower Rhine, the half-forgotten idea of heavenly peace was again revived. Fighting gradually ceased in the other German provinces, and the new anti-king Ekbert of Meissen, elected after the abdication of Hermann, was as insignificant as his predecessor, and died in 1090. In southern Germany, Welf was willing to disregard the interests of the Church and to be reconciled with Henry. When these tidings reached Rome, Mathilde of Tuscya brought a sacrifice to the Church which the moment required. Although only twenty-seven at the time Gregory became pope, and although she had at that time despised her husband, Gottfried of Lorraine, and had been a widow since 1076, she was willing to marry the young son of Welf. From the Gulf of Spezia to Mantua and Ferrara lay, partly scattered and partly near each other, the estates of the House of Canossa. Welf could not hesitate; the young prince must cross the Alps and become the husband of the almost forty-three-year-old woman. In Italy, however, he was often defeated by the



imperial troops, in addition to which he felt sorry for his young life and was much sneered at because of this peculiar venture into matrimony. Worst of all was the fact that he had to give up his hope of obtaining the Mathildian estates. He was grossly deceived; from the first day, Mathilde strongly opposed the undertaking of her boy-husband, who was barely seventeen. The aged Welf had to aid his son, and asked him to suffer in silence. He did so until 1095, when the situation became intolerable.

Meanwhile, a new king arose in the person of Konrad, the emperor's son. In 1087, he was elected by Henry's party and crowned. His father invested him with Italy, whence Henry had returned soon after his coronation as emperor. There the son stood up against the emperor.

It is difficult to say what may have led the young king to take this step. We cannot possibly enter into the psychology of the act, regarding which the contemporaries had to be content with mere hearsay. No letters or records have come down to us explaining the occurrence. The chronicler Abbot Ekkehard of Aura speaks of a similar struggle between Konrad II and his son Henry III. In such cases it was always the son who "pitied" and judged. Moreover, Henry had done a thing which was apt to alienate a son. Empress Bertha, an insignificant but amiable woman, died in 1087. Two years afterwards, Henry married the widow of the

Count of the North March, whom he had met in 1088. She was the daughter of a Russian grand duke and was called Eupraxia or Praxedis. In Saxony she was known as Adelheid or Ahlke. This was a terrible match. In 1090, Henry was again in Italy and fought against the troops of Mathilde. With the latter, young Konrad held secret relations. He openly opposed his father on Easter Day, 1093. The Archbishop of Milan crowned him at Monza, as king of Italy. Soon afterwards Adelheid, aided by Mathilde, ran away from her husband to her guardian, to whom she told many shameful tales. "Then the new Deborah," says Mathilde's medieval biographer, "recognized that God had delivered Sisera into the hands of a woman." It is not pleasant, but we owe it to Henry to tell all. Praxedis brazenly admitted she had been unfaithful to her husband times without number, and everyone knew that he had to guard her all the time. She accused Henry of impossible wrongs, and the charges were disproved. None the less, he was to blame, because of his weakness and repeated condonation. The adulteress and Mathilde forged poisoned weapons against the emperor, and the entire hostile clergy freely drew ammunition from this arsenal. At a synod of the adherents of St. Peter, called by Gebhard of Constance, the matter of Praxedis was discussed by the assembled dukes.

Upon the whole, the aims of the clerical party

were no longer attractive. The laymen were tired of the seeming endless war, and the lower clergy grew hostile against the warring church which, besides simony and investiture, strove to introduce Nicolaitism.

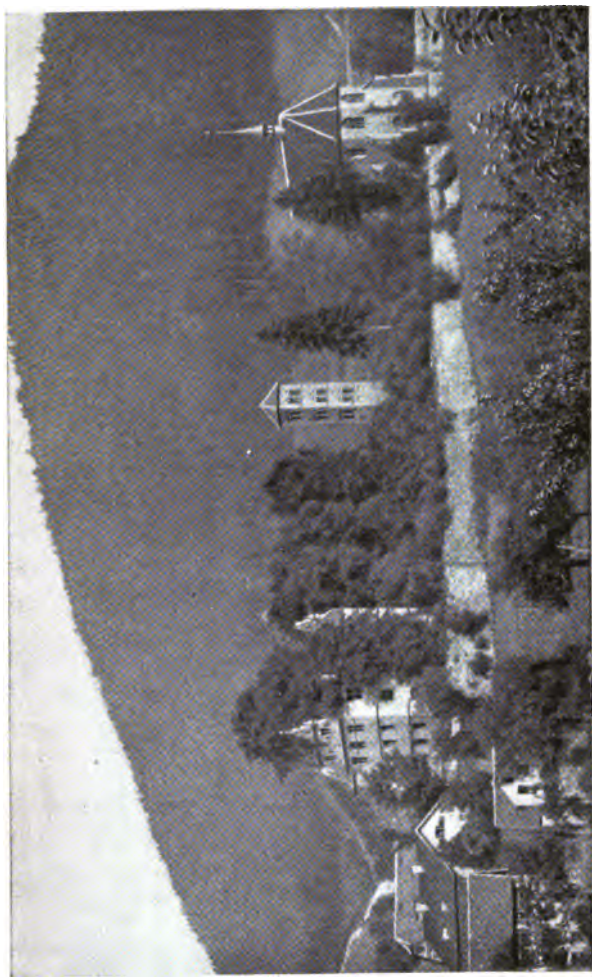
The ascetic and world-hostile course of the Cluniacensians was adopted by Gregory VII. He disregarded the highly moral qualities of matrimony and saw in it only a lack of virtue, a base weakness. Out of this was developed, after the beginning of the eleventh century, the idea of perfect celibacy, and many noble ladies, by no means Mathilde of Tuscia alone, began to displace marriage by intense friendship for bishops and priests. Many princes deserted wives and children and sought refuge in a convent in the mountainous forests. Thus, Hermann, the older son of Bertold I of Zähringia or Carinthia, went to Cluny, leaving the Carinthian margraviate of Verona to his successor. The marriage of laymen was not forbidden, but it was wholly controlled by the Church.

All the councils of the fourth century demanded celibacy of the clergymen. This corresponded to an ideal life turned from every form of worldliness. It was, moreover, highly important, for it kept the clergymen clear of the affairs of the laymen, free of the responsibility of caring for wife and children, household and estates, state and nation, leaving full liberty to do the Master's work. A violent

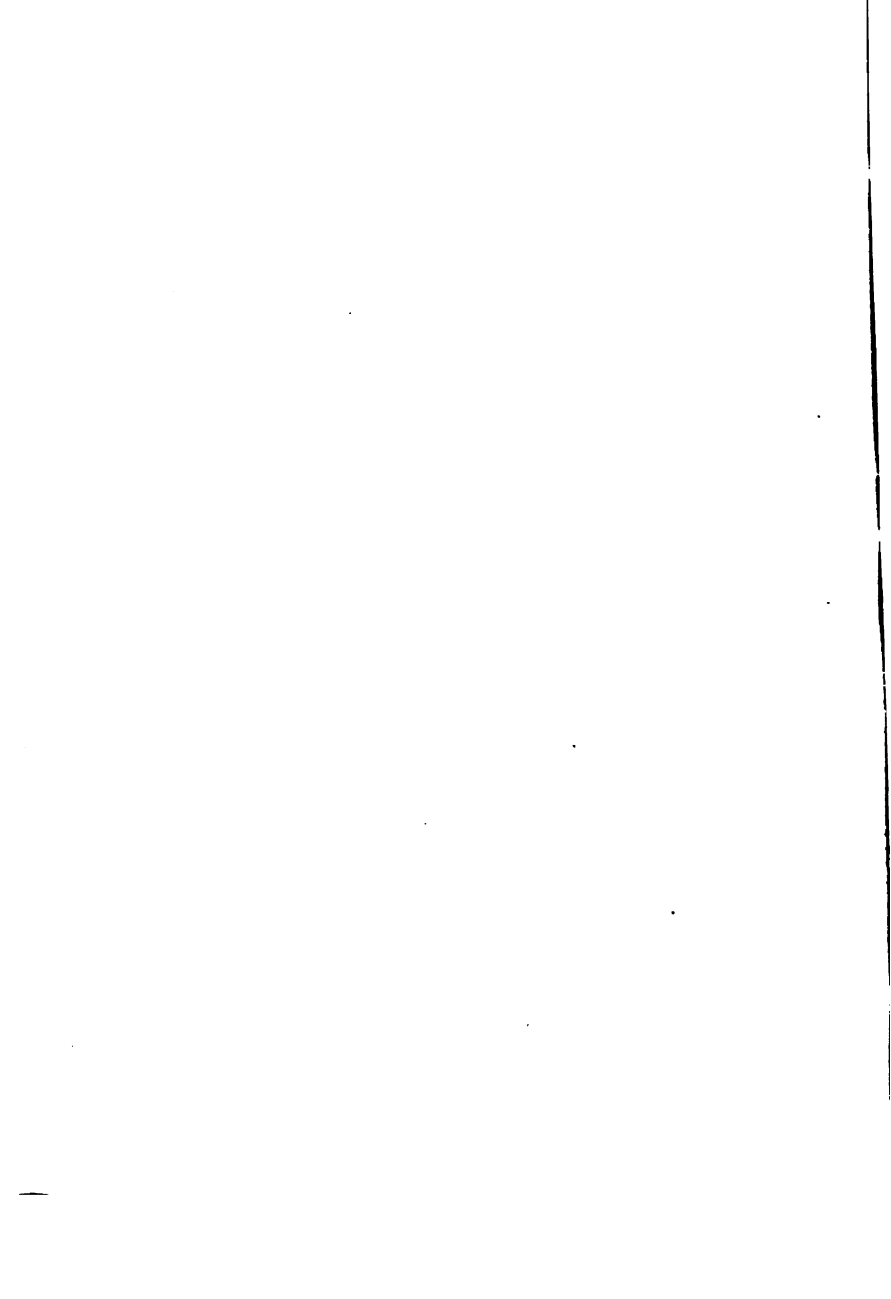
protest was raised in all countries when Gregory VII announced the law of celibacy, at a synod held in 1074. The priests opposed it, entered into alliances, made propaganda against it, and called the pope's attention to Matthew 19.11, and I Corinthians 7.9. They, as well as the bishops, declared that the results of celibacy would be immorality and sin, or at least wild free matrimony. Certain bishops asked their unmarried priests to marry, in order to improve them. Down to the twelfth century, nothing was changed, and the priests rigorously protested whenever the bishops with Gregorian ideas tried to carry out the interdictions prescribed.

Urban II renewed the law of Nicolaitism,—the matrimony of clergymen,—in 1095, at the synod held at Piacenza, but his main interest and energy assumed a new character. At the synod, he declared that, because of the immense attendance and the obvious successes of the Church, he had resumed Gregory VII's idea of a Crusade: to fulfill the word of one Shepherd and one herd, to subjugate the world to the earthly symbol of the Divine Empire, the Christian Church. A few months afterwards he stood on the soil of his fatherland, in the midst of his French fellow-men, and from Clermont went out the shout of the cross throughout the Romance World: *Deus lo volt!* (1095).

Of the German princes who participated in the first Crusade was Duke Gottfried of Lower Lor-



Monastery at Hirsau, in Württemberg.



raine,—Gottfried of Bouillon, as he was called, after a castle of his family, (Beulen near Sedan in the Ardennes), with a thoughtless imitation of the French pronunciation. He was a nephew of Henry's loyal adherent Gottfried, whom he succeeded in 1089; yet he was neither a champion of Henry's policy nor one of the Church. On account of this neutral position and the divine peace mentioned in Lower Lorraine, he was able to leave his duchy and obtain the royal sanction for his participation. He was joined by Baldwin of Flanders, who had French and German feuds, and Baldwin of Heinnault, the later eminent King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. The rest of Germany was opposed to Urban II, and everywhere the people were too much exhausted to undertake so great and so sudden an enterprise. Lower classes from the Rhineland who could lose but little in their home, and numerous poor French also past doing great harm, took part in the first Crusade. As recent investigations prove, many Suabian lords and knights also participated.

In the year of the Crusade, 1096, the Welfs made peace with Henry. In 1097, the latter returned to Germany, and a reconciliation was brought about between him and Duke Frederick on the one hand, and Bertold II the Zähringian Duke of Suabia on the other. Thus the Stauf obtained his duchy. Bertold, however, received an imperial fief at the flourishing city of Zurich, the capital of Alemannia.

He continued to bear his ducal title and attached it to his castle Zähringia in Breisgau. For the first time there was a ducal family in Germany without a duchy, whose position was based upon large estate and offices of counts. There was universal peace; Emperor Henry could dethrone his son Konrad, to whom Countess Mathilde gave shelter and protection. Konrad died in 1101 and his younger brother Henry was crowned at Aachen, January 6, 1099. In the same year, Urban II died. His successor, Paschal II, took up the work of his predecessor and renewed the excommunication against Henry IV, though he was not the same enemy. Gebhard of Constance, who clung to his party and his aims, was driven away from Constance by another victorious bishop.

For the first time after a long period, Henry could breathe freely. He was able actually to reign in the empire, and he did it by acquiescing and healing the wounds the great civil wars had inflicted. But he was not permitted to live in peace. Many malcontents gathered round the young king, telling him it would be far better if he reigned. On the night of December 12, 1104, the younger Henry left his father's court, went to Bavaria and began to negotiate with the pope. He begged to be freed from the oath of allegiance that he had taken before his father, and promised to obey all Gregorian doctrines. On Suabian territory, whither Henry had



gone, he and Gebhard of Constance, the German representative of the pope, met. The Zähringian received his bishopric among other honors; then both went through Eastern Franconia and Thuringia to northern Germany, where the old hatred of the Saxons against Henry IV was revived. Henry V received great homage at Quedlinburg during the Eastern festival of 1105. Several synods and diets of the princes held sessions. The young king was docility itself, and everything lay in the hands of Gebhard.

In July, 1105, the expeditions of the son marched against his father. Both armies were arrayed against each other in September, near the Regen. Suddenly the emperor fled to Bohemia. At this time, Henry V began to display the energy and cunning which were so characteristic of him. In vain the father strove to make good his escape into Bohemia by advancing against Mainz. The son captured the city and the parent, despairing of help, continued fleeing down the Rhine. An imperial diet was called to Mainz, in order to settle the confusing state of affairs. The young master of cunning and treachery brought his father under his control by means of cruel perfidy. They met at Coblenz, and the son consoled his parent and disarmed suspicion so that the army was dismissed, and Henry accompanied his son up the Rhine. On December 22, he was taken to the castle of Böckel-

heim on the Nahe, where he learned that he had been made prisoner.

Fifty-two princes came to the diet at Mainz, among them the faithful adherents of the emperor, who had hoped that a reconciliation would be brought about between him and his son. The first news that reached them was that the emperor could not come because he was imprisoned. Gebhard of Constance, and Cardinal-Bishop Richard of Albano, were the most important personages at the diet. They renewed the disgraceful accusations against Henry IV and quoted the bulls of the three popes. On December 27, Henry's custodian appeared with the announcement that the emperor was willing to abdicate. Letters of Henry IV relating to these circumstances have been preserved, and we learn from the one to the king of France that his abdication had been forced by physical menaces. The imperial insignia were sent for and under new threats the worn out man handed them over. Besides this, he was asked to abdicate before the princes. But Henry V did not wish him to come to Mainz. He went to meet his father at Ingelheim, accompanied by the two papal legates and other confidential friends. The emperor was now surrounded by enemies. They made fearful threats against his life and also something that was more dreadful still: they would not allow him communion and absolution. Henry, despite his frequent excom-

munications, was a good medieval Christian, like his persecutors. Accordingly, he abdicated. He was then asked to confess all the crimes of which the papal legates had accused him. He promptly did so, for he had become an expert in that line. Even after all this he received no absolution; an apostolic decision was needed. His enemies recalled the days of Canossa and would not lay down their arms, despite the penitence and abdication of Henry.

For the imperial diet, nothing was left to decide except to participate in the formal opening of Henry V's reign, as he had been already crowned. Ruthard, Archbishop of Mainz, gave Henry V the imperial insignia, warning him that he would fare like his father if he were no just king and defender of the divine Church. The legates consecrated the king, whose entire bearing was humble and grateful.

The cities, as well as many bishops and laymen, still favored Henry IV, and he succeeded in escaping from Ingelheim. He went to Cologne and Aachen. At the latter place, the faithful bishop Otto of Lüttich saluted him. His adherents in Lorraine gradually increased. To them was attached Henry of Lunburg, Duke of Lower Lorraine. King Henry marched with Upper German troops and besieged Cologne. His prospect was not very favorable, for, disregarding the investiture by nominating those bishops who suited him, he offended the

pope, the vicar Gebhard and the entire clergy. The father sought to separate the king from the princes, while the son tried to call a new imperial diet. Henry V then advanced against Aachen, looking upon the siege of Cologne by his father as a futile enterprise. In the midst of this confusion the emperor died, August 7, 1106.

After a brief illness, gentle death released him from all misery and trouble. He had reached his fifty-sixth year. In the final hour he demanded to be buried at Speyer near his parents, and that his son should forgive all who had been loyal to him, but the younger Henry was not willing to grant the latter request. He gave Lower Lorraine to Count Gottfried of Brabant, and the inhabitants of Cologne were obliged to pay a large amount in gold. The cruel priests opposed. At first, Otbert had buried the emperor in the dome of Lüttich, where the body was not allowed to remain. It was taken from the grave and buried near the Maas, in unholy ground. Thence Henry V had it carried to Speyer and laid away in the dome. Even here the unfeeling bishop refused to let the ashes rest, but had them taken from the dome and buried in an unconsecrated chapel. It was not until 1111, when new days had dawned for empire and Church, that the body found quiet and peace in the dome which Henry IV had erected.

This sovereign was not entirely blameless for the

endless sorrows of his life. Brought up without parents, king at the age of six, and as such a plaything of the various influences, now tyrannized over, then flattered and misled, he no doubt developed many vices in his youth and never learned the meaning of real self-control. He was unwise in underestimating the power of the Saxons and other adversaries. In the face of all this, it was remarkable how Henry IV was able to preserve the empire, and how during the short breathing spells he gathered new strength. He was overcome by foul treachery, by those powers which were opposed to a monarchic imperium, by the Church which claimed so much, and by particularism strengthened because of the feudal qualities of the high imperial offices. Out of the confusion of his reign arose a new element which belonged to the future, and which down to our own days has opposed particularism—the *bourgeois* of the cities. To the devoted loyalty which they had shown toward the much distressed emperor was due the amiable sympathy of the people for Henry. Those who knew him well, who were always with him, preserved their affection for Henry IV even beyond his death. Latin poems dealing with indignant accusation of the son's perfidy are lost, but of the old period of the empire we have no biography which rings as true as the mourning poem of a clergyman of the royal chancellery, the beautiful *Vita Henrici IV.*

## CHAPTER XVII

### HENRY V

**T**HE gloomy, heartless man who remained inherited the same difficulties and troubles which he had pressed upon his father,—that was, the defense against Rome and princely opposition.

He would not give up the investiture. Pope Paschal II had warned him in vain, and the latter expected aid from France, whose king was the Capetian Philip I. Henry refused the pope's invitation to meet him and sent messengers instead. These declared the following in Henry's name: election and consecration of bishops were in accordance with the laws of the Church, the king always sanctioning the personality of the candidate; after election the bishop must take the oath of allegiance before the king, and be invested with office by receiving the symbolic ring and staff. Paschal, speaking of servitude to the Church, declared it an offense against it if a clergyman while taking the oath should put his hands into those of the layman, which were covered with blood. Pope Paschal was more excited and angry than either Gregory VII or

Urban II. Whatever he urged upon the bishops led only to a more intimate alliance between them and Henry.

From 1107, the latter had time to devote to the restoration of the German authority in the Slavic-Hungarian East. Bohemia had always been loyal to Henry IV, who aided her against Hungary and Poland. Henry V also sent military aid to Bohemia, against Coloman of Hungary and Boleslav of Poland. He did not achieve great success, but German arms at least appeared before Pressburg and in Silesia.

In January, 1110, at the diet of Regensburg, Henry declared before the princes that he would journey to Italy, to strengthen the imperium and to obtain the imperial crown. Many wished to join him and aided him financially. The German princes did not love Henry, but they respected him. In August two armies were started, one going across the Brenner, the other with the king through Burgundy, along the Upper Rhone, and to the other side of the Great St. Bernard. On the Roncalian Fields, near Piacenza, the armies united. The beginning of the winter was devoted to the arrangement of affairs in Upper Italy. In February, the forces advanced toward Rome.

Meanwhile, Henry negotiated with Paschal. In vain did the latter wait for help from the Normans. He therefore made the following reply to the mes-

sengers of the king: "The churches should always be content with their tithes and with pious gifts; the king should take possession, for himself and his successors, of all estates and regalia which Karl and Louis, Otto and Henry, and others had bestowed upon the Church." Henry accepted this proposition.

Henry V entered the city of Rome in February, 1111, and occupied the Church of St. Peter. Immediately after this, the ceremonies of the coronation opened. By way of introduction the treaty, which was entered into by the pope and king, was read. Bishops and laymen protested, calling the document heretical and impossible. Henry now took the sides of the princes, joining in the protests against the pope, and called the nobles who were present into another room for consultation. What the sovereign said to them, we do not know. Paschal waited near the altar, desiring the king's coronation and the treaty. But this was no longer possible. Henry turned the excitement against the pope to his own advantage and made the pontiff a prisoner.

At the same time the Romans revolted against the imperial rule of their city. After days of fierce fighting in the streets, Henry decided to leave, taking with him the pope and sixteen cardinals. After several weeks, during which the king was encamped at the foot of the Sabine Mountains, near Tivoli on the Teverone, the distinguished prisoner informed



the king that he was willing to abandon the law against investiture. Peace was concluded, and in April Henry was crowned. He then returned to Germany.

On the way, he spent two days at the castle of Countess Mathilde. In the year previous, Henry had negotiated with her. What thoughts stirred that woman's heart at the time no one knows, but certain it is that the aged woman was happy over her relations with young Henry, and she grew indifferent toward that which had once filled her soul. She was not disturbed over the investitures of Henry, or the bitter complaints of the Church against him who had changed so radically. Henry treated her with deference, recognized her as the ruler of Tuscia, and invested her with Liguria. And while he was her guest for a brief while, she made him the heir of her estates.

No sooner had the emperor returned to Germany than he buried his father, who had died in excommunication, with solemn celebrations and pomp. At the same time, he invested his former chancellor, Adalbert, with the Archbishopric of Mainz.

But the triumph of the crown over the Holy See was based upon violence and could not last. Gradually the opponents ceased fearing the indiscreet and imprudent monarch, and formed an alliance. In 1112, the Burgundian Bishop Guido of Vienne pronounced the investiture heresy and excommuni-

cated the king. The new Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz was by no means a pliant tool of the crown. The Saxons' old hatred against the Franks revived, and the Frisians strove to separate themselves from the empire. And so the enmity and loyalty which Henry IV had encountered coalesced against his successor and destroyer. In Saxony, the House of Billung had died out in 1106 with Magnus, and the duchy was bestowed upon Lothair, who owned large estates near Supplinburg. The Saxon-Thuringian nobles, including Landgrave Louis of Thuringia, sided with the duke, who became the leader of the counts'-insurrection in the empire. Once more Henry was successful, and when, in January, 1114, he married the English princess Mathilde at Moins, even Lothair was present. Toward the close of the same year, however, the insurrection broke out anew and was more formidable than before. The emperor immediately proceeded against the Saxons, but in February, 1115, he was defeated near Mansfeld. A feeling of independence spread throughout northern Germany; one archbishop after the other excommunicated the king, and a papal legate appeared in Saxony. Conditions grew still worse, when very important matters summoned the emperor to Italy.

Mathilde of Tuscany had died in July, 1115. Pope Paschal did not protest against her treaty with Henry, but a great many questions were raised with

regard to what belonged to the allodium, what Henry was to obtain as personal heir, and so on. Without difficulty, he took possession of his inheritance, which greatly improved his finances. He recognized his champions in Germany by making Frederick, the younger, Duke of Suabia, while his older brother Konrad was invested with Eastern Franconia. In the course of the struggle, Henry bestowed the ducal power in Franconia upon the Bishop of Würzburg, in order to win him over for himself. The Staufs (Hohenstaufen) possessed authority only in a part of Eastern Franconia which was called the Duchy of Rothenburg, since it was situated around that city on the Tauber.

Paschal died in 1118, and his successor, Gelasius II, excommunicated Henry, but passed away the following year. The most resolute ecclesiastical opponent of the emperor, Guido of Vienne, was next chosen. As pope he was named Callixtus II. Peace was finally concluded in 1121, at a diet at Würzburg, leaving permanent peace to be discussed at the succeeding diet. The latter was held on the 23d of September, 1122, at Worms, where the Concordat of that city was concluded.

Bishops and imperial abbots were to be elected by dome-chapters, and in the presence of an imperial messenger. In Germany, the emperor was to have the privilege of investing the chosen one with the regalia before the consecration, through the

scepter. In Burgundy and Italy, this was to take place within six weeks after the consecration. The old investiture through ring and staff was no longer required. Since the consecration took place after the investiture, the emperor was enabled to delay or prevent election. Neither party won, but agreed upon a compromise. In principle, the Church was victorious through the princes and the different tribes. Many points remained clouded, as is usually the case with a compromise.

To the temporal princes numerous concessions were granted upon questions regarding estates and feuds. Naturally, the emperor once more had to fight against Lothair and the Frisians, for had there not always been struggles in the empire, from the time of Henry IV? But upon the whole there was peace, even though it was concluded at the expense of important imperial privileges of the imperium.

Henry now adopted a new plan to provide a universal imperial tax. In Germany, as in Italy and Burgundy, cities were flourishing and others were being founded. The Crusades had revived commerce and trade. In Italy, new commercial firms were established which greatly benefited Germany everywhere. Technically such a tax seemed to be possible, yet most of the princes were bitterly opposed to it.

In May, 1125, Henry was in the Rhenish prov-

inces. He suffered from a cancer and when he came to Utrecht, became seriously ill. On the 17th of May, he entrusted his wife and estates to his Staufic nephew, Frederick II of Suabia. Six days later, he breathed his last and brought to a close the line of Franconian emperors, or as it is usually called, the Salic royal family.

Henry does not belong to that group of rulers of whose reign German history can complain. But the man who passed away in 1125, at the age of forty-three, left no love behind, either among his contemporaries or his posterity. No one sincerely mourned him, as many did his father, whom he had driven into misery and sorrow, and whose unhappiness had rested upon him like a curse. "With the necessary reverence" the princes attended the funeral at Speyer, and there passed a severe verdict about his reign over empire and Church. Of course, they expressed their own opinion, which was by no means that of the whole country. Even Frederick of Staufen agreed to the verdict of condemnation. In his case, it is probable that political motives outweighed friendly feeling on the part of the nephew: the election of a new king was at hand.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE HOHENSTAUFEN PERIOD

#### KONRAD III

**T**HE death of Henry V brought the Hohenstaufen dynasty to the throne of the empire, but opposition appeared at once, because of which Otto IV and William of Holland, who did not belong to the Hohenstaufen family, became kings of Lower Germany in later years. This period includes the last great effort in our older history for ending the dissension between southern and northern Germany, Suabia and Lower Rhenish Saxony, either by power of the empire or by decisive victory of one of the contending parties. The problem was not solved during the period named; the smaller potentates of the empire were strengthened and encouraged, but at the same time made less dangerous through destroying the old tribes, and because of a national pride among Germans awakened by the Hohenstaufen dynasty.

Passing from Stuttgart to Nordlingen, we trav-

erse the Rems Valley, rich in vineyards and grain fields, then by Waiblingen, and observe in the upper valley, where the mountains are closer together, the Hohenstaufen family convent Lorch, founded by the first Duke Frederick. Close by, on the northern slope of the Hohenstaufen Mountain, is Wäschen-Beuren, one of the numerous Suabian villages, from which the duke derived his name of Friedrich von Büren. (*Büren* is the old and new Suabian word for village, but in so-called new High German the word *Beuren* was used.) Near the village is the family castle with its ancient walls, now popularly called *Wäscherschlösschen* (wash castle). Another citadel was erected on the apex of Hohenstaufen Mountain by Frederick, shortly before he became reigning duke. The word Büren in the title was then replaced by the name of the more modern stronghold built on the top of the mountain. The grandfather of the first duke had married into the Zähringen family. The father wedded Hildegard, a wealthy Alsatian, and was the creator of the family's prominent position on the plains along the upper Rhine, which the Hohenstaufen family never ceased to strengthen. Hagenau and Trifels were their favorite resorts in that neighborhood. Mention has been made of their inheritance from the Salic family, which seems to have included the land at Waiblingen. About 1135, Konrad III married Countess Gertrud of Sulzbach,

whose family temporarily had charge of the northern margraviate. Through this union the land inherited from the Salic family was added to the upper territory along the river Main. The Hohenstaufen coat of arms was a lion or a leopard, but during the thirteenth century it displayed three such animals, one above the other, turning to the right. During the twelfth century escutcheons were only beginning to appear, and their real introduction in heraldic form occurred after the House of Hohenstaufen was extinct.

In 1125, Duke Frederick of Suabia desired to be elected king, but the strongest opposition was due to the fact on which he based his claim,—namely, that he was a nephew of the late emperor, and that the House of Hohenstaufen, through relationship on the female side, was a connected continuation of the Salic family. The late emperor Henry V had intrusted the insignia of the empire to Frederick, but his strongest opponent, the Duke of Saxony, was elected by the princes.

Archbishop Adalbert of Mainz, who had managed the details of the election, was dominated by the thought that, above all, there must be no new government that would rule the Church so domineeringly as Henry V had done. He also remembered the old quarrels with the Hohenstaufen brothers. The election took place at Mainz in August, 1125. The four races of Saxony, Franconia, Suabia and



Bavaria were present. If any representatives of Lorraine were there, they were counted with those of Franconia, being historically identical with them. A papal legate opened the election proceedings with solemn prayer. His presence at a purely worldly affair of the Germans showed clearly the motives of Archbishop Adalbert. So far as known, this was also the first time in the history of German royal elections that a board of electors was chosen. They consisted of ten men from each of the four races and the action was the beginning of the future college of electors. The forty men were unable to agree on a single available candidate, and referred the matter back to the entire assemblage by suggesting the names of three prominent princes. These were Frederick of Suabia, Lothair of Saxony, and Margrave Leopold of Austria. The first two named were the incarnation of opposite principles, so far as the matter at issue was concerned, while Leopold, the stepfather of the Hohenstaufen, was regarded in the nature of a compromise candidate. The actions of the three men differed during the preliminary proceedings. Frederick, as heir of the Salier family, not only regarded himself as having a prior claim, but considered it his duty to become king. He was very energetic in his explanations and even demanded recognition. Adalbert tried to quiet him by calling attention to his pre-election promise that he would abide by the result of the

proceedings, but Frederick skillfully evaded the issue. Lothair was more than sixty years old; his record was satisfactory and he had been very successful as ruler of the united and almost independent Duchy of Saxony. Neither his disposition nor his desire prompted him to covet the royal crown; but he was prevailed upon to become a candidate. Leopold could win only by being submissive, since he was the least prominent of the three candidates. Thus progress in fixing upon one of the three men was slow. Finally one group grew tired of the clergy's dilatory actions. In the midst of the discussion in the hall of the archbishop's palace, some of the contestants raised the struggling and protesting Duke of Saxony upon their shoulders (shields and weapons were left outside with the shield bearers), just as they might have done in an old Germanic public gathering, and carried him through the hall crying: "Lothair be king!" The scene was not very dignified and did not constitute an election, but it was a striking incident, and a vague rumor that a king had been elected reached the populace outside. Furthermore, Frederick's father-in-law, Duke Henry the Black of Bavaria, a Guelph, had just been won over for Lothair. It is presumed, probably with truth, that on this occasion the betrothal of Gertrud, Lothair's daughter, to Henry's son, was arranged. Lothair married late in life, and at the time of the election Gertrud was

still a child. The engagement was announced in 1127. At any rate, Frederick withdrew his candidacy and, with his followers, left the hall, whereupon Lothair was formally elected.

## CHAPTER XIX

### LOTHAIR, SAXON EMPEROR

**T**HUS there was again a Saxon ruler of the empire. Lothair succeeded to the crown somewhat similarly to Henry I, but it was his intention to imitate Otto I so far as possible. Since 919, in spite of all disastrous events, the empire had gained considerable prestige and power. Lothair had a clear view of his duty. The Church wished to have a king for the whole country and not for Saxony alone. Naturally the clergy had assisted in Lothair's election. They joined in the still prevailing idea of his having been elected King of Franconia, and revived old Franconian customs similar to those adopted by Otto I, who wore Franconian clothes at his coronation. Like Otto, Lothair hurried to Aachen to be crowned, and then rode in state through Lorraine, Franconia and Bavaria; but of Suabia he only touched the border. Again, as was the case under Henry I and Otto I, Saxony and Suabia had drifted apart in politics. Saxony extended her power to the north and east, which to a great extent was due to Lothair's efforts when he was Duke of Saxony. Suabia inclined towards

the south and southwest, while Bavaria looked southeast. At the time of succeeding to the crown, Lothair acknowledged as his principal aim, as Henry I and Otto I had done, the task of bringing not only Suabia, but also Saxony, under his kingdom. To this work the old ruler devoted himself faithfully, but it cannot be said with full success; the dual interests were too great for him.

The brave Count of Supplinburg had become prominent in Saxony during his younger days, while fighting against Henry IV. Afterwards, through marrying a much younger woman, Richenza, he obtained land at Northeim and the Ludolf-Brunswick estate belonging to it, so that he became an extensive landowner in Saxony. In 1106, Henry V made him duke. The Count of Ballenstedt, an Ascanian who, owning also some of the Northeim property and land at Billungen, was considered one of the wealthiest Saxons, felt slighted. Furthermore the Welfs, by inheriting most of the Billungen estate, had established themselves in Saxony. There was also the Wettin family, under Suabian privileges similar to those enjoyed by the Welfs. The members of this house had been counts for many generations; their estate was located along the river Saale. In 1034, they received Lower Lusatia (which was temporarily lost during the reign of Henry V), and under Henry IV also obtained the domain of Meissen. During the days of

the House of Ludolf, Thuringia had become a part of the Duchy of Saxony, but soon afterwards it regained its autocracy under counts of different families, who ruled successively with the title of Landgrave of Thüringen. Such a new line rose during Lothair's reign, the first important member being Count Louis the Salic (1056-1123). That was his true family name, but in popular etymology he was known as Louis the Jumper, of whom it was reported that, while a prisoner of Henry V, he escaped by leaping from the Giebichenstein. This explanation was popular and was repeatedly told of other persons and localities. He founded the Wartburg, a citadel located near the city of Eisenach, and in the same vicinity the family convent Reinhardsbrunn on land purchased by his father, Louis with the Beard. One of his sons, also named Louis, was the first of this family to bear the title of landgrave. He obtained by marriage the domain of Count von Gudensberg, in Hessa.

Duke Lothair had ruled Saxony with a firm hand. His victory at Welfesholz, previously mentioned, made the hearts of the old Saxons swell again with pride. This triumph gave the victor absolute power in the interior of Saxony and beyond the eastern border. The margraves were under his supremacy; and they, as well as the counts, had the ambition to own absolutely their domains, of which they had only the tenure during their natural lives. It was

plain to them that they could further their aims best by supporting Lothair in his exalted position. He intrusted the important earldom of Holstein to Adolf of Schauenburg, a capable man. The Counts of Wenden, in the interest of their own policies and dynasty, had to lean on Germany to a certain extent and, in doing so, they regarded Duke Lothair as their representative master. During his days and throughout the Hohenstaufen period, the Slavic Wendes maintained closer and steadier relations with Germany than previously. Germany's political and popular reëxtension towards this region was set on foot by Charles the Great and the Saxon rulers, but now commenced the great and lasting success. This was not so much due to the Hohenstaufen dynasty as to the Hohenstaufen period, during which occurred the grandest action in our early national history,—the retaking by the Germans of the territory east of the river Elbe, which had been lost to the Slavs, and the conquest of more than half of what is now known as North Germany.

The advance of the Slavs towards civilized Europe was general. A Greek emperor complained that the Balkan peninsula threatened to become Slavic. Thus was repeated the march of Germans from northeast and north in the direction of the Rhine all along the Danube, which took place during prehistoric and old-historic days. Centuries later, their descendants advanced from the east in an

analogous manner, except that the place of the Rhine was taken by the Elbe and Saale, and that the movement which pointed further east also stopped further east. At that time, the Germans did not permit any large independent groups of previous inhabitants to remain among them, nor did they allow any strangers to settle there afterwards. The Slavic territory was frequently invaded by eastern nations, until finally the Hungarians separated the Slavs living within view of the Balkan peninsula from those residing along the rivers Elbe and Oder, as if a wedge had been driven between them. For this reason, the eastern Slavs were influenced principally by Byzantine culture and the Greek church, while those in the west had relations with the Occident and the Roman mission. During the ninth century, the Moravians strove to establish relations with Byzantium and the South Slavic Bulgars. They also permitted the mission of the Greek Slavic apostles, Methodius and Cyril, but these beginnings were finally checked by the Roman Church, supported by the German empire.

The development of the Slavic constitution shows a remarkable analogy with that of the Germans, not through influence but in its original state, owing to an identical Indo-German social beginning, and in view of equal preliminary conditions leading naturally to a parallel growth. Since the Slavs came later into touch with civilized nations than did the



Germans, and they had comparatively little trouble in maintaining large territories to a later period, their social condition remained correspondingly at a more ancient level. The old unit upon which their intercourse was based was the village community, with common agriculture but without individual ownership of land. Such a community consisted of descendants of one family and in Old Germanic language was called *Sippe* (clan). It was no longer, as was customary among Germans, an association in which the heads of families had equal rights, but was under the leadership of the eldest, who was called the Starost. The consolidation of several such communities produced a higher form known as "Zupa," under the management of a "Zupan," also called "Knees," which is a corruption of the old Germanic word *Kuninga* (king). Afterwards several "Zupas" became united under the name of "Narod" or nation. This finally led to a real national government, with a monarchical endeavor directed particularly towards the aim of acquiring as crown property the outer boundary strips of the Narod, as well as the land located between the different communities termed "Sippe," and of placing dependent settlers on that land. Still later there were popular princes or dynasties who, whenever they had a common military interest, could easily extend their supremacy to adjacent nations for short or long terms. Occasionally a stran-

ger, free from the jealousy existing among natives, was successful in this respect, as for instance, Samo previously mentioned. Similarly, about 862, several Slavonic nations in the vicinity of Novgorod accepted as their rulers the noble leaders of the Scandinavian Vikings, located near the Sea of Ladoga. Their Finnish neighbors called these Vikings the row ones, *Rodsen* and *Rus*. Their leaders were three brothers, the most prominent being Roderic, also called *Rurik*.

The formation of such large governments from several nations overcame and obviated the older form of fraternal union of various nations under the name of Amphictyons, with common sanctuaries, which was also customary among Germans as already stated. The title of these new rulers was taken from foreign languages. Where Western influence prevailed, the word *Krol* or *Kral*, derived from Carolus, was used; where Byzantine was the stronger the ruler was called Czar, from *Kαῖσαρ*. During the days of Tacitus, Germans were in the habit of calling all Slavs "Wendes." Gradually this expression narrowed down to the advanced western groups known as Slavonians in the south, Sorbes and Polabians, the last mentioned being those living beside the river Elbe. The remnants of Sorbes, near the source of the river Spree, are still called Wendes. The principal Polabic population was at that time located in what is now known as the western por-

tion of Mecklenburg and Wagrien, a part of Holstein. These people were called Bodrizes or Obotrites. Frequently their princes also ruled over neighboring nations. Some Polabians were living on the left bank of the river Elbe, which part of the country was afterwards known as the Wendland of Hanover. Their language was still spoken in that section in the eighteenth century. Liutizes or Wilzes was the general name applied to the Wendes living further south and east in Brandenburg, eastern Mecklenburg and western Pomerania. To this group belonged, among others, the Zirzipanes located along the river Peene, the Redarians in Mecklenburg-Strelitz and the bellicose, seafaring Ranes on the island of Rügen. The most important sanctuaries within the Liutizes' territory were the temple at Radegast for the Redarians and the sanctuary of Swantewit, near Arkona, at the north end of Rügen. Further east along the seashore (*po morge*) the Pomeranians, who took their name from these words, were located. Julin (Wollin), also called Jumne and Jumnetā, in the Oderhaff, was their celebrated capital and market. To this place came other Slavs, Greek merchants, Danes, Swedes and Russian Normans, sometimes peaceable and again on the warpath and bent on robbery. This city was called Jomsburg by Scandinavians, who adopted the Germanic practice of distinguishing foreign cities by adding "burg" to the name.

Thus originated the names of Augsburg, Regensburg, Colnaburch (the Frisian appellation of Cologne), and Rumuburg, which in the poetry of the ninth century was used for Rome. The industrial and luxurious influence of this flourishing, powerful commercial city on the Baltic Sea reached far and wide. Glittering gold plate recovered after having been buried for centuries, is still preserved in the museum at Stralsund, dating back to this period and due to business connections throughout the entire north and east. In the same museum may be seen the jewels of Hiddensöe, unequalled in beauty, delicacy and splendor. Never, from generation to generation, did the people living on that coast forget the grandeur and magnificence of Jumne and the luxurious godlessness of its inhabitants, nor the expiation through the destruction of Vineta by an invading flood. Vineta is a newer name for Jumne and was due to a slip of the pen. (At the beginning of the twelfth century it was not customary to dot the letter "i" nor were capital letters used in the middle of a sentence; therefore iumneta, in the handwriting of an annalist, Adam of Bremen, was erroneously read uimneta and changed to Vineta. This name was retained because it was thought to have some connection with the word Wendes.) Jumne was utterly destroyed by the Danes in 1184. Of the Sorbic population, located in the middle Elbe territory, along the Saale

and east to the Bober, the Daleminzians in the neighborhood of Meissen, as well as the Milzes around Goerlitz and Bautzen have been referred to before. More completely than these people, the Slavs in the upper Main territory, belonging to the Czech group, were drawn into the German commonwealth during Lothair's reign, so that they showed no further separate political organization. The Bavarian North March margraviate and the bishopric of Bamberg, had accomplished their object, and further south, not far from Bamberg, on a hill called Rotsandstein near the river Pegnitz (a Slavic name), in the midst of an extensive state forest, of which a large portion is still in timber, the imperial castle of Nürnberg was built. This structure was mentioned for the first time in 1050.

Little can be ascertained concerning the ancient Wendes' mode of living. Their nationality, owing to the close proximity of the Germans, was gradually displaced by that of their neighbors. Traces are still found, however, in the names of many places and in the numerous round villages built in "Wendish" that is to say concentrical style, east of the line Kiel-Lauenburg-Elbe-Saale. Investigation has disclosed an amiable class of people in many respects. Their mythology is only meagerly developed and resembles that of the Germans. It represents the world as full of spirits, and the Wendes were always in-

clined to make their homes good and cheerful (*dobru*). In view of their primitive culture, they were hardly capable of forming their own government, but the reason for their speedy and wholesale defeat may be due to their lack of ability. They were easily satisfied and willing to submit, finding it more convenient than to resist. Such a spirit inclined their masters towards haughtiness and tyranny. The fortresses of the Wendes were ring walls, similar to those built by the Germans at the time of their wars against the Romans, but the Wenden country was not mountainous and, instead of being able to utilize rocks, the people had to depend principally on earthworks. Many of these strongholds still exist in the old Wendic country, and some are in a good state of preservation. The favorite locations were along the rivers, with which the people, as fishermen and sailors, were familiar, though some were built on hills. The most imposing fortress was the Wallburg, on the so-called Sea of Hertha, near Stubbenkammer. It rises far above the level of the sea, which necessarily attracted these easy-going people as seafaring men, some of whom, under capable leadership, became prominent sea fighters and pirates.

In some cases the Polabians and Liutizes embraced Christianity and acknowledged German authority prior to the twelfth century. This was mainly due to certain rulers who through such

action gained the advantage of strengthening their position. In this manner, particularly during the eleventh century, some Obotrite princes, although Christians, reigned over a population of heathens and at the same time over their neighbors. Theirs was a clever compromise position, similar to that formerly taken by Clovis; but whenever they were not satisfied with simply being baptized, and showed themselves as ardent Christians, everything sank back into the old state of affairs. The most painful instance of this kind occurred in 1066, under an Obotrite prince named Gottschalk, which translated into English means, servant of God. The foremost among German pioneers of Christianity was Wizelin, who died in 1154, after having founded the Bishopric of Oldenburg in Wagrien, and laboriously sowing the seeds in Holstein and western Mecklenburg. The harvest of his efforts was reaped principally after his death. The apostle of northeastern Liutizia and western Pomerania was the shrewd, brilliant Bishop Otto von Bamberg, a Suabian knight. In all his efforts for empire and Church, he strove to attract attention: his death took place in 1139. His splendidly organized mission journeys had been made in 1124 and 1127, in close connection with Duke Boleslav III. They immediately met with considerable success. In addition to missionaries there began to arrive as settlers during the twelfth century, German peasants from

different territories in Saxony and Frisia. Conditions had become intolerable and emigration, which had pushed Germans further and further west and south, now began to turn back in an easterly direction. This was the most important factor in conquering the present eastern German district of the Elbe.

Lothair, who until 1125 was reigning Duke of the Saxons and Wendens, had now become king, so that he ruled the kingdom in addition to his previous duties. He notified Pope Honorius II of his election, not only by a royal embassy but also through the legate who returned to Rome. The pope declared himself satisfied with the result of the election. Lothair's next important task was that of rendering the Hohenstaufens harmless. There was call for this, inasmuch as, besides the Salier domain, the brothers occupied land belonging originally to the crown. It was not a legal question; they had no right to hold the land, but, after having done so for a long time, it was very difficult to separate it from their own property. Further, there was a question as to whether the fines paid to them in connection with this crown land should be turned over to the kingdom or to the heirs of the freeholders. In great haste, an indictment was obtained against Frederick, who, in January, 1126, was declared an outlaw by the Congress at Strasburg. Attempts to execute the judgment were made during the fol-



lowing year. In the meantime, in December, 1126, Henry the Black of Bavaria died, and was succeeded by his son, also named Henry. Later he became known as Henry the Proud and, in the following May, on the Gunzenlee near the river Lech, he married King Lothair's daughter. It was a magnificent wedding, to which all the nobles of Bavaria and Suabia were invited. Lothair and the Guelphs now desired to fight side by side. The king arrived before Nürnberg, the royal fortress in eastern Franconia, over which Duke Konrad ruled. Nürnberg was a part of the property claimed from the Salier family. At the foot of the hill was a settlement of common people, who at one time faithfully supported the harassed Emperor Henry IV. In return he had bestowed upon them the privilege of marketing their goods; but now, in the interest of the Hohenstaufens, they opposed the besieging sovereign and, in August, 1127, assisted by the knights under the leadership of Duke Konrad, drove him away, pursuing him to Würzburg. After this defeat it became necessary for the king to obtain reënforcements in southern Germany. The house of Zähringen was selected for the purpose, being the Hohenstaufens' nearest neighbor in Suabia, where they owned considerable land on the Rauhe Alb.

Burgundy supplied the opportunity. There the descendants of Otto Wilhelm, who at one time led

the home opposition against King Rudolf III, were regarded as the most powerful counts, and they owned extensive properties in High Burgundy and Transjurania. The principal line of this house became extinct early in 1127. The next of kin on the male side, Count Rainald, was entitled to the inheritance, but he insulted King Lothair by not taking any steps, even after being asked to do so, to obtain the royal investiture for the offices and fiefs belonging to the same. In 1127, apparently in September, Lothair selected Konrad of Zähringia to succeed to the inheritance, instead of Rainald, who ignored the royal authority. Konrad was a son of Bertold II, and was authorized at the same time to look after the royal privileges in Burgundy, as imperial governor (*rector*). This was on the part of the German crown, a new form of ruling the kingdom of Burgundy. It relieved the Saxon kingdom from difficult and distant duties and for that reason the Burgundy department of the royal chancery was discontinued. Previous to this, the Zähringen people, as heirs of the Counts of Rheinfelden, were among the wealthy class in Burgundy. The arrangement promised to hold Burgundy closer to the kingdom than the last Salians were able to do, and closer than seemed probable to the Saxon. Thus the first government of the kingdom by proxy was created, and the incumbents, members of the Zähringian family, placed on their escutcheon

the royal eagle, which at that time was still single-headed.

The Hohenstaufens could not count on any assistance from the Duke of Zähringia, while the third large and wealthy Suabian house, the Welfs, opposed them openly by active hostilities at home as well as in Bavaria. With the more energy the Hohenstaufen brothers tried to strengthen their resistance and their position. On the 18th of December, 1127, they proclaimed their own king. Frederick, however, who had lost one eye, was not the man. At this juncture, his brother Konrad (born in 1093) loomed in the foreground, having been promoted to the position of king. During the early part of the following year, he crossed the Septimer and went to Italy, to which country the Saxon had so far paid no attention. In Italy was the domain of Mathilde, which had been inherited by Henry V and belonged to the allodial inheritance of the Salians. There, too, was the great anti-Roman party which had persistently clung to Henry IV. The inhabitants of Lombardy and Milan received Konrad joyfully. At Monza, the Archbishop of Milan crowned him with the iron crown and, in 1128, the celebration of the coronation was repeated at Milan, in the Church of St. Ambrogio. However, Konrad did not succeed in taking actual possession of the Mathilde domain and had to be content with proving his claim to it.

Suabian counts with the preferred name of Bertold and an ancestry apparently dating back to the Alemannic Duke Gottfried (died 708, 709).

Nothing of interest was undertaken in Germany during 1128 and 1129, by either side. However, the promotion of Innocent II to the papacy, in 1130, affected materially the king's arrangements.

This, too, was a party election. Innocent II was chosen by the Frangipani group, while the opposing Pierleoni people elected Anacletus, anti-pope. He possessed superior power in the city of Rome and in Italy, and was actively assisted by Roger II, a nephew of Robert Guiscard, deceased in 1127. Pope Anacletus soon proclaimed Roger II King of Sicily, (including Normanic Lower Italy, as previously stated). On the other hand, Innocent II was recognized by Bernhard of Clairvaux, who lived from 1091 till 1153, and after 1115 was Abbot of Claravallis or Clairvaux. He was the most celebrated and honored ecclesiastic of his age, and there could hardly be any opposition to him. Strict morality, piety, closest attention to all happenings in church and world, and glowing eloquence;—these were the traits which gave this man for a generation, throughout the Occident, an unapproachable authority. He secured for Innocent II the obedience of the French, English and German clergy. In his intercourse with the last named and his influence over Lothair he acted in unison with

PEDIGREE OF THE HOUSE OF ZAHRINGIA.

Count Bertold, d. prior to 1005 or 1006 ;  
married Berta von Büren.

Count Bertold, d. 1024.

Duke Bertold, d. 1078.

1. Hermann, d. 1074.

Margraves and  
Grand dukes of  
Baden.

2. Gebhard,  
Bishop of  
Constance, d. 1110.

3. Duke Bertold II,  
d. 1111;  
married Agnes,  
daughter of Rudolf  
of Rheinfelden.

Duke Bertold III,  
d. 1122, married Sophie,  
daughter of Henry the  
Black.

Duke Konrad,  
d. 1152.

Agnes, wife of  
William III of  
Burgundy  
Count William  
IV, d. 1127

Duke Bertold IV,  
d. 1185.

Clementia  
married, 1, Henry  
the Lion; married, 2,  
Count Humbert of Savoy.

Adalbert  
Duke of Teck.

Duke Bertold V, d. 1218.

Agnes, wife of Count  
Eugene IV of Urach.

Anna, wife of Count  
Ulrich of Kyburg.

Bertold prior to his fa-  
ther's death.

Count Egeno V. of  
Urach.

Counts of  
Kyburg.  
Hedwig, wife  
of Count Albert  
of Hapsburg.

Dukes of  
Teck.

Count of Freiburg. Counts and Princes  
of Fürstenburg. King Rudolf I of  
Hapsburg.

Norbert, who, in 1119, at Prémontré in the Bishopric of Laon, had founded the Order of the Premonstratensians, which quickly attracted followers in Germany. He was promoted by the orthodox church party, in 1126, to the head of the Archbishop's Cathedral at Magdeburg. Norbert was the son of a count from the lower Rhine. In 1130, the royal synod at Würzburg, and King Lothair, recognized Innocent II as pope.

The pope traveled through France to Liège to meet Lothair, who received him in front of the cathedral and led the pope's gray horse by the bridle. Lothair, however, desired some compensation for having recognized the pope and tried to improve this opportunity. It is not entirely clear what Lothair promised during the election at Mainz, in 1125, regarding the installation of bishops or, (more probably), did not promise. He now demanded concessions in connection with the investiture, but immediately Bernhard de Clairvaux, who also was present, checked the dangerous interruption as "inopportune." In those days clergymen could act in this manner and compel silence upon the king. In future promotions of bishops Lothair simply had to invest the individuals forced upon him after they had already been consecrated, contrary to the Concordat of Worms.

At Liège, Lothair was obliged to promise that he would remove to Italy for the benefit of Inno-

cent II. He complied with this duty in 1132, but not as generously as was expected, being accompanied by only 1500 knights. While traversing this part of the kingdom he was ignored rather than opposed. Following the first Crusade, commerce had improved in Italian cities and a longing for independence had grown among the citizens. Many of them closed their doors against the king and refused the burdens which his entrance would have placed upon them. More than once it became necessary to spend the night in small hamlets, (in Italy there were really no villages in the sense in which they were known in Germany), or in open camp. In Rome the Anaklet party held a portion of the city, besides the Engelburg and St. Peter. However, Otto was able to move into the palace of Otto III, which was erected on the Aventine. In the Lateran Church, an unusual place for the purpose, Lothair was crowned as emperor on the 4th of June, 1133. At the same time, he made agreements with Innocent II which were of value to the Church as well as to Saxony. In the first place, in the seat at Magdeburg, Archbishop Norbert, instead of Gnesen, was given jurisdiction over the Polish dioceses. But what in the meantime had been lost and changed could not be recovered through this course. Bremen, instead of Lund in Danish Schonen, now known as Sweden, again obtained the metropolitan power over North Scandinavia, in

accordance with the old efforts and definitions from the days of Adalbert. The Faroe Islands, Iceland, and the other northwestern discoveries of the sea-faring Normans were included; that is, Greenland, besides Winland, Markland and Hvitramannaland, North America, which were visited for the first time in the year 1000 by Leif Erikson, and in 1003 by Thorfinnr Karlsefne with 160 settlers, although they soon had to be abandoned, owing to the enmity of the natives. Neither the pope nor the emperor owned the domains of Mathilde, but they appropriated them in such a way that Lothair obtained them from the pope in fee without taking the vassal's oath. Altogether, nothing occurred in Rome at the time of the coronation to justify a painting placed afterwards in the audience hall of the Lateran, with the following lines:

*Rex venit ante foras jurans prius urbis honores  
Post homo fit papæ, recipit quo dante coronam.*

(Before the gate the king implores the Roman honors,

Then becomes the pope's man and earns his gift,  
the crown.)

Threatening actions of Anaklet's party forced the emperor and the pope to leave Rome quickly. All the more it became necessary for Innocent II to assist Lothair in breaking the Hohenstaufen resistance in Germany, in order that the undivided imperial power might be used for another and more



imposing trip to Rome, in the interest of the pope. Innocent II used all his influence with his German followers and during the next few years diplomatic negotiations were conducted, while an energetic war was carried on by two brothers of the house of Guelph, Dukes Henry and Welf. The last named had the Suabian domains. In 1135, a compromise was effected in Germany. The Hohenstaufen brothers, who finally were hard pressed, swore allegiance, Frederick first and soon afterwards, Konrad. They retained everything in their possession except Konrad's title of king, and had to promise first of all that they would take part in the projected trip to Rome. This achievement raised Lothair to the very pinnacle of his power. His and the empire's prestige found recognition in the customary manner, through foreign embassies, in this particular case Danish rulers, and through the personal arrival of the Dukes of Bohemia and Polen.

Lothair was in better spirits when, during the late summer of 1136, he again started for Rome, this time by way of the Brenner Mountain, accompanied by many princes, five archbishops, thirteen bishops and the following dukes: Konrad as banner-bearer of the empire, (Frederick had been excused from participating in the trip) Henry the Proud, Sobeslaw of Bohemia; Albrecht of Ballenstedt, called the Bear, who in 1134 had been in-

trusted with the Nordmark; Konrad von Wettin, who in 1136 had succeeded in uniting Meissen with Lower Lusatia, and others. From Verona the travelers went to the Roncalian fields (*Ronkalische Felder*), where an empire day was held, and thence to Bologna. Here the large army was divided. Henry the Proud led one division through the Apennines to Toscana to meet Innocent II, who made his home at Pisa, which city had always been true to the emperor. The main division continued on the old Amelian road, which paralleled the north side of the Apennines, ran straight to Rome, and was always in view of the towering peaks and fortified border hills, and after reaching the Adriatic Sea near Rimini turned south along the coast, on the Flaminian road to Apulia. At Bari the two divisions united. Both had done considerable fighting, but there was no decisive engagement. At Bari, however, the army captured and destroyed the large stronghold of Roger, defended principally by Saracen soldiers. Innocent II, who again was accompanied by Bernhard de Clairvaux, was also present, but by no means pleased with his escort. On the way Henry was unapproachable regarding the pope's expectation as to material power and property, and frequently was overbearing in his personal intercourse, and, as his nickname indicated, "proud." Innocent II found that the emperor, instead of criticising the actions of his son-in-law,

showed in nearly all matters, an antagonistic observance of his worldly rights.

Since 1135, when he really became master of the empire, Lothair was no longer the man who could readily be silenced, as had been done at Liège. It has been noticed that previous kings, who came to the throne as actual laymen, after deliberately refusing the Church's assistance, finally while looking after the kingdom's interest drew gradually nearer to the clergy. That was at a time when laymen desired only the separation of the different tribes, while the Church was working for the solidarity of the kingdom. Afterward conditions changed. The Church desired to weaken the royal authority, and having prominently assisted in his election, considered Lothair a probable tool, but his duties as supreme ruler estranged him from the clergy.

As a result of the expedition to Rome, Italy had again seen the power of the German army splendidly developed. Roger was not vanquished, nor was Anaklet driven from Rome, when Lothair started on his return, but he had somewhat changed his opinion about these two opponents. The pope's privilege to give out Lower Italy in fee was not recognized by Lothair, who reserved for himself, as a preliminary compromise, the symbolical principal share in joint actions of this character. (It was agreed that the emperor would hold the flag, to be

delivered to the recipient of the fee by the handle, while the pope would hold the top of it.) On the return journey from Italy Lothair died, December 4, 1137, in the village of Breitenan on the river Lech, a property belonging to his son-in-law.

In 1836, the ruins of a wooden structure at Breitenan, which had not been occupied within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants, were razed. They were believed to have been ruins of the peasant house in which Emperor Lothair died. His body was taken to his Saxon home, and placed in a vault which had been prepared in his convent at Lutter (*Koenigslutter*). The vault was opened in 1618 and found to contain, besides the body, a sword, an imperial apple, a silver dish, and a broken leaden slate with a Latin inscription stating that Lothair was always a true believer in Christ, veracious, steady and peaceable and a fearless warrior, who departed this life on his return from Apulia, after vanquishing and driving away the Saracens. He was specially praised as the laymen's ideal of his countrymen at that period.

We might ask for other details besides those contained in this inscription, but it would be difficult to answer the question. Lothair died too soon after gaining a free hand in the empire and an independent word in face of the clergy. What the new chapter of his reign would have been can only be surmised. The Church and many of the

princes of the empire believed there would have been great changes. Naturally it was their desire to continue the old government, that the future might not be influenced by the traditions of the last few years and by Lothair's perception of his duty, as he revealed it when he was no longer restrained. Thus was repeated the experiment of 1125, with a new actor. In other words the Church and the princes made sure that, instead of the Guelphs, the House of the Hohenstaufens would be placed at the head of the empire. The figures on the chessboard had strangely changed positions, and these shiftings were destined to occur more frequently.

## CHAPTER XX

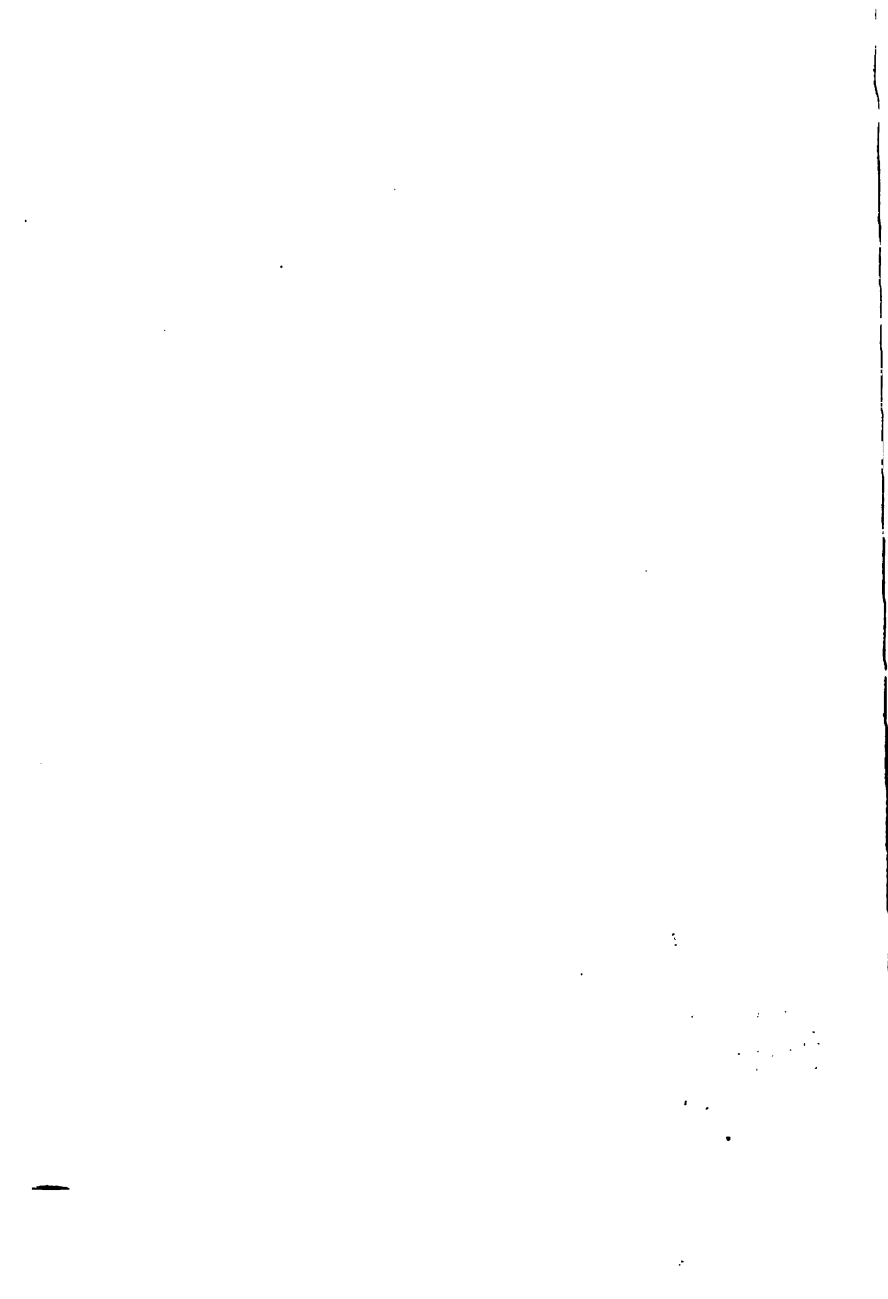
### KONRAD III

**B**EFORE his death Lothair had made arrangements according to which Henry the Proud, heir of the Supplinburg domain, could succeed without difficulty to the Duchy of Saxony. Furthermore, he had given the insignia of the empire to Henry, whose claim to the crown was therefore in the same position as that of Frederick of Suabia in 1125. The details of Henry's defeat at election were also similar. The Hohenstaufens were at the head of two duchies, and Lothair was the only one who had a prospect of defeating them. The church party, too, could think of only one candidate to oppose the Guelph rulers of the two duchies: Konrad of Franconia, a Hohenstaufen. Whitsuntide, 1138, was the time set for his election at Mainz.

The Supplinburg-Guelph opposition was also active. Henry's ablest champion was his mother-in-law, Lothair's widow Richenza. She had accompanied her husband, who was considerably her senior, to Italy and was a very active woman of the Northeim family. She planned to gather the Saxon



**Church of St. Elizabeth at Marburg. Erected  
1235-1283.**





followers on a certain day at Quedlinburg and fixed upon the 2nd of February (Lichtmess), but Albrecht the Bear occupied Quedlinburg in time to prevent her entrance. He saw in this imperial election a probable opportunity of becoming Duke of Saxony in place of the Guelphs, a chance which his house had missed in 1106 and now again lost. Thus through Richenza's actions the election campaign reached the stage of party measures and surprises. The church group did not hesitate any longer and at Coblenz, on the 7th of March, 1138, in the presence of Dietwin, the legate of Pope Innocent II, Duke Konrad was raised to the dignity of king, a title he had held once before. On the following Sunday, the 13th of March, he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The election was at Coblenz because that city was under the jurisdiction of Archbishop Albero of Trier, the most active promoter and leader in Germany of Konrad's election. Albero was a gay, sociable man, who liked to keep open house, with splendid table, and relate to his guests his experiences and successes. He told, for instance, how while still young and without a beard he disguised himself as a pious pilgrim woman, and executed dangerous orders of his ecclesiastic superiors; or how for a long time, as a lame beggar, he followed the court of Henry V from place to place, for the purpose of spying and listening. Once, while hid-

den under a tablecloth, he heard everything the emperor told the empress about his politics and intentions. Whether these reminiscences were simply table chatter or not they possess an interest for us, because they not only throw light on the occurrences, manners and intercourses of those days, but also picture this clergyman personally, and show that in spite of his ambition and desire to be talked about, which caused him to take so prominent a part in the election of Konrad III, the old Germanic fondness for adventure was in him. During the time of Henry IV and Adalbert von Bremen such characters would have formed a strong contrast to the serious Gregorian ecclesiastics living in seclusion and by dogma. At that time an ardent desire for action on the part of such people was intended solely for the Church, since they took no interest in anything else. This great change was due to Gregor VII, Urban II, Cluny and Hirsau, while the devotion of the princes who were laymen, through whom the Church obtained so much during the eleventh century, began to decrease mostly through the effect of the pilgrimages to the Orient. These awakened numerous worldly concerns, owing to the new traffic and the non-ascetic knights' fondness for carnal weapons and for song. The higher clergy could be counted upon to remain loyal for the time.

Thus the "snake breed," which venomous title

was afterwards applied to the Hohenstaufens by the Church, obtained the crown "by will and order of Pope Innocent II," according to the appropriate words of a Liège annalist. It was a devious election of questionable validity. Nevertheless, a new date was set without delay for public homage at Bamberg, and it was so successful that Konrad could regard his election as legitimate and consider himself the generally recognized king.

Henry was beaten, and after hesitating and refusing for awhile, he sent the insignia of the empire to the man elected at Coblenz and Bamberg. At the same time it remained doubtful whether the sovereign would be able to maintain himself for any length of time against the Guelphs in their formidable power, and whether he should leave the hopes of Albrecht the Bear unfulfilled. He negotiated with Henry who was officially invited to court receptions. Several times the Guelph stayed away, but on one occasion, when asked to Augsburg, he arrived with such an army on the Bavarian bank of the river Lech that King Konrad, in real or cleverly pretended fright, hurriedly left Augsburg. In consequence the Guelph was declared an outlaw, by the congress at Würzburg, in August, 1138.

It now became necessary to put suitable men into the offices taken from Henry. Those selected were Albrecht the Bear and the Babenberg margraves of Austria, who were closely related to Konrad.

Albrecht and the Babenbergs had heretofore reluctantly submitted to the supremacy of the two large eastern duchies, but now they were raised to the position of dukes themselves and instructed to separate the duchies from the Hohenstaufen opposition party. Konrad was regarded as a man of the Church and he had little trouble in filling vacancies in bishoprics with clergymen of his own party. In this manner he assigned to the Bishopric of Freidingen in Bavaria, his half-brother Otto, a Babenberger who will be mentioned more frequently. In one chapter he is referred to as the most important historian of the Middle Ages.

Under these new conditions Albrecht, who during the congress at Würzburg had been promised the Duchy of Saxony, was the first to become aggressive. He advanced into the rich domain which the Guelphs still owned in Saxony, where he took Lüneburg and Bardewik, and began to install his own counts. Goslar, Saxony's capital, if such a term may be employed, stood on royal ground. The king went thither on Christmas, 1138, to observe court day, and before this assembly Henry also lost Bavaria, which was formally declared to be no longer under his jurisdiction. This confirmed definitely the outlawry issued against him and a compromise which seems to have been expected up to that time was no longer considered. Konrad went to Bavaria for the purpose of installing Leopold of

Austria as duke. Henry, who was still in Bavaria, hurried back to Saxony and quickly attacked his opponents, bringing not only Albrecht's followers but himself into great distress. Then he died suddenly on the 20th of October, 1139, at Quedlinburg, in his thirty-fifth year.

His son Henry, who afterwards became known as the Lion, was only ten years old. His grandmother Richenza first took care of the Guelph cause in the north, in his place. After her death, which occurred in 1141, her work was continued by her daughter, Henry's mother, Gertrud, who was fully as capable and energetic as her parent. In the south, the Guelph cause was championed by the surviving brother of Henry the Proud, Welf VI, whose principal property was located in Suabia.

It was during these struggles which raged through Suabia and the neighboring countries that the call of "hie Welf, hie Waiblinge" is supposed to have originated. It will be noticed, and this is of great interest in this connection, that the Hohenstaufens were called Waiblinge after one of their largest places. Consequently this war was not regarded as one of the elected king toward rebels, after royal decree, but simply as a struggle of the two great Suabian houses against each other, and this was in accordance with the facts. During the thirteenth century, Italians were divided into two parties, named Guelph and Ghibellini, which is believed to

be the Italian translation of Welf and Waiblinge. The Italian proper name of Gibellinus appeared frequently in records and annals. It is particularly mentioned that the call of "hie Welf, hie Waiblinge" was heard for the first time in 1140, when Konrad attacked the city of Weinsberg. The siege lasted for a long time, but the city surrendered in December after Welf, who had come to the assistance of the besieged, was defeated by Konrad. The incident of the faithful wives of Weinsberg, so far as known, was related for the first time in 1175, at Cologne. According to it, the king was embittered and desired to save the female inhabitants, but permitted them to take away when leaving as much of their property as each could carry, (During the Hohenstaufen period this permission was given on other occasions, in Germany as well as in Italy, and seems to have been the regular custom.) When the female inhabitants of Weinsberg came through the gate, it was seen that each of these bright Franconian women, married and unmarried, carried on her back a husband, father, brother or lover. In the king's camp this was declared an abuse of the royal permission, but Konrad insisted that a king's word must stand. At any rate, the tale remained popular and it is of particular value inasmuch as it shows that Konrad was regarded as a straightforward man of high ideals.

Duke Leopold of Bavaria died on the 18th of

October, 1141, and both parties being tired of war a compromise was proposed, which was carried through by congress at Frankfort in May, 1142. Albrecht renounced Saxony, which was turned over to Henry, the young Guelph. Bavaria was to be ruled by a brother of the late Leopold, Duke Henry, who on the strength of one of his favorite expressions was called "Jasomirgott," and married Gertrud, the mother of Henry the Lion, whose stepfather he became. Gertrud died in 1143, during her first confinement after her second marriage.

The situation was not perfectly satisfactory. Welf VI kept aloof and Frederick, the king's nephew who afterwards became emperor, was displeased with the preference given the Babenberg relatives of his uncle. However, while reproaching Welf VI, Frederick did not start a real revolt and, early in 1146 he, the son of the Duke of Suabia, fought a feud against Duke Konrad of Zähringen. The last named was not on good terms with King Konrad and Duke Frederick. The king's nephew quickly gained a victory and went to the parts of Suabia containing the most important Zähringen positions; he took Zurich and a large fortress on the Brisgau which must have been Freiburg, founded in 1120 by Duke Konrad, who was now obliged to sue for peace with King Konrad and Duke Frederick. This was the first great feat performed by this energetic young warrior, who at-

tracted the attention of the kingdom. He was born about 1123.

Like Lothair, Konrad did not find time for large enterprises in Polen, Bohemia and Hungaria. In the first two named duchies he had to be satisfied, in case of vacancies, with turning the government over to those members of the families who emerge successfully from the interior struggle, but he could not install new dukes. In view of their own difficulties the dukes of these countries had sufficient cause to lean on the German crown, and they had many interests in common with the kingdom. The most important was that they were enabled, owing to their feudal position, to maintain their state as separate rulers without granting their groups (Sippe) any share in the government. It was due to the supreme German government that these stubborn people submitted to the control of regular dynasties. While Germany and Saxony had trouble in 1138 there were great disturbances among the northern Polabics. It was calmer on the whole in the older and more southerly territories of German supremacy over the Wenden in Liutiz and Sorb. In 1136, Albrecht the Bear, who then had the title of Nordmarkgraf, conquered the Prignitz. When he was obliged to renounce Saxony, in 1142, in compensation he was made independent (*reichsunmittelbar*) under the title of Reichserzkæmmerer, and had the good fortune of being offered, by the



Christian prince of the Havel country around Brennabor, Brandenburg and Pribislaw, the succession later on. The prince desired to exclude his heathen relatives from the inheritance. Through this arrangement Albrecht, in 1150, united his Nordmark, which then became known as "Altmark," with the Brandenburg country under the name of Mark Brandenburg, an expression he had frequently used since 1142 in connection with his title.

After 1142, German influence again made progress in the north, particularly through Count Adolf II of Schauenberg in Holstein, who was born in 1128 and died in 1164. For a short time during the eleventh century there was a bishopric at Lübeck, but Adolf founded a new Lübeck a little farther up, on more suitable ground, where the rivers Trave and Wakenitz which come from the Ratzeburg Sea run together and continue around a higher level, making it almost an island. This new Lübeck was a splendidly covered fortress and, because of the united navigable rivers, became also an important harbor and commercial city. Adolf maintained friendly relations with the Obotrite prince Niklot, who was born about 1125 and died about 1160, and who was thus enabled to strengthen his supremacy over the Kessines on the river and over the Zirzipanes. The mission of Wizelin and his female companion in Wagrien flourished again, some of the Wenden in that country had to pay interest, and

Adolf was the first one to attract German peasants, Dutchmen, Friesians and Westphalians as colonists on a large scale.

In Italy, Roger II had overcome the opposition left in 1137 by Lothair and Innocent II and created a strict, undivided government in Lower Italy and Sicily. Innocent II tried once more and without imperial assistance to make war on Roger II and as a result he was sent to a Norman prison, like one of his predecessors, Leo IX. This occurred in 1139. Then Roger received from Innocent II, as he had previously from Anaklet, his property and the title of King of Sicily, according to apostolic privilege. King Konrad complained in bitter words to Bernhard de Clairvaux about this apostolic privilege in Lower Italy, which ignored the royal authority there as well as the last agreement made with Lothair, but was put off with the reply that the pope was the common superior of them all. Thus were enlivened the negotiations for a closer political understanding, which had already been opened between Germany and Greece. The last named country was threatened by impending Norman attack. Manuel, who became emperor of Greece in 1183, married a Sulzbach princess whose sister was the German queen. Konrad had only the title of king, not of emperor, but this honest man cannot be blamed for being smart enough in dealing with Byzantium to uphold the dignity of his

country by speaking of his empire and by instructing a proper employé to indulge in letters to Constantinople in all the flamboyant court customs then prevailing. About this time a new Crusade movement occurred, which for a short period connects German history with Asia Minor and Syria.

The first Crusade had neither destroyed Islam nor ushered in Christ's teachings, though it was inaugurated for that purpose. Jerusalem was conquered, partly at an earlier period, and three additional Christian governments were founded. One of them, Edessa, on the other bank of the Euphrates, resembled an Armenian settlement, while in the principalities of Antiochia and Tripolis, as well as in the kingdom of Jerusalem, the government, upper classes, constitution and general appearances were Occidental, the French element predominating. The Syrian states of Franconia (all people coming from the former realm of Karl the Great were called Franconians in the Orient), as new colonies frequently do, soon became the promised land of the younger sons, of capable or unsubstantial fortune hunters and of spoilsmen and adventurers. In the commercial cities of the coast European merchants, principally from Pisa, Genoa and Venice, but also from Marseilles, Catalonia, etc., gave their attention to the rapidly increasing commerce of the Levant. This connected the Occident directly with the Orient, and indirectly through the Syrians, by

way of Mesopotamia and Persia or the Red Sea, with the great export country of India. The Franconian governments in Syria, and the merchants as well, desired reënforcements from Europe, and preferred an efficient, single expedition to the numerous pilgrims able to bear arms who, year after year, arrived by sea from the Occident. The Church, furthermore, had not abandoned the idea of obtaining greater results through a new Crusade than could be expected from the handicapped and divided policy of the Crusade states. In the midst of these preparations occurred, in December, 1144, the loss of Edessa to Imadeddin Zenki, head of the Emirs in upper Mesopotamia, which made the case appear more urgent in the Occident. In 1145, Eugene III, a pupil of Bernhard de Clairvaux, was promoted to the apostolic chair and he made the Crusade idea the principal thought of his pontificate. In France, where the people, not without cause, considered themselves the leading Crusaders, King Louis VII seemed inclined to take part personally. Through his understanding with the pope, Bernhard de Clairvaux was induced to surrender his well-founded doubts as to the real benefit of the Crusades to the Church and to the laymen, and to throw his strength and his European authority into the service of a new, general Crusade. He had no difficulty in bringing France, so easily inclined to enthusiasm, back to the days of 1095, at Clermont,

but it became necessary also to win the Germans and their king. Bernhard, therefore, went to Germany for a meeting with Konrad, in the Rhine country.

Konrad had plenty of other troubles, and for his valued ally, Emperor Manuel, a Crusade to the Occident might not only cause a political disturbance but prove an immediate danger. His first answer, during the latter part of November, 1146, at Frankfort, was a simple negative. Bernhard did not insist, but traveled through the upper Rhine country, preaching the Cross, from the river Main to Constanx, that being at the time the most flourishing and best developed part of Germany, rich in cities, castles and convents, the latter having many knights among their followers. Konrad called a congress for Christmas, at Speyer, and Bernhard, who had returned from his remarkably successful trip, was present. This time Konrad evaded a downright refusal. On the 27th of December, while the king was at mass, Bernhard unexpectedly started an oration. With all the power of his glowing eloquence the great preacher implored the king, who still was absolutely disinclined, to favor the Crusade. He called him ungrateful to the Saviour, who had given him health, ability to rule and manly courage, who had intrusted him with the Germans' bravery and who, on the day of the last judgment, would call him to account for the hardness of his

heart. The king was overcome by his emotions and his vow rang through the church. With him most of the princes present pledged to take part in the Crusade. Among them were some of those who, by remaining behind in Germany, had been the cause of Konrad's chief uneasiness. All political differences seemed to disappear; enthusiasm for the Crusade inflamed Germany as it had inflamed most of western Europe; everything that could contribute to quiet and peace in the country was decided upon in full accord.

The harmony continued for some time. In March, 1147, at a congress in Frankfort, the king had his son Henry, who was still a boy, elected his successor, and Henry the Lion, who was present to demand Bavaria, promised not to renew his claim until after the Crusade. By this time, the enthusiasm had cooled in many quarters, or a more practical view of the matter had been taken. Some people asked why it was necessary to fight against Seldschukes, and seek the heathens in far away Syria, while they could be found on the borders of their own country. This view was not opposed by the Church in the pope's decree of the 11th of April, 1147, and some of the German cross-bearers started a Crusade to the Wenden country. Not only the vastly different political view of South and North Germany became apparent in this division, but the grouping of the parties as well. The Cru-

sade to the Wenden country was undertaken by Saxony, principally by the Guelph followers, for which reason one of the South Germans, a prominent prince, took part in it and did not join the king. He was Duke Konrad of Zähringen, who also bore the title of Statthalter von Burgund, and had been deeply humiliated by the Hohenstaufens. Of reliable followers, King Konrad knew only the Margrave Albrecht the Bear to be with the Crusaders in the Wenden country.

Germany, of late years, had maintained friendly relations with the Wenden princes, but now they and their people were to be subdued by force of Christian arms. Prince Niklot, the most prominent among them, did not wish to wait until the Germans were ready to crush him. On the 25th of June, Count Adolf of Schauenburg received his challenge and on the 26th Niklot's ships were in the harbor of Lübeck.

Meanwhile, the army of the Crusaders assembled in Magdeburg. Besides the princes already mentioned and Henry the Lion, the Archbishop Adalbero of Breneb and several Saxon bishops took part. But they were not alone: the Danes and Poles could not neglect to seize their share in the impending changes in the condition of the Wenden country. They ceased their internal strife, accepted the Cross and offered their assistance, which could not be rejected. In these circumstances and to facilitate

the provisioning, it was decided to divide the army. About 40,000 men, under Henry the Lion, turned toward Niklot, while the larger force of about 60,000 men, under the leadership of Albrecht the Bear, moved through the Liutiz territory to Pomerania, in coöperation with the Poles. Neither division had an opportunity for an open battle. The Wenden disappeared in their swamps and forests. When the eastern division finally arrived in front of Stettin, Christian crösses were seen upright on the walls of the city, and the bishop of the place, who was a pupil of Otto von Bamberg, led a procession to meet the Crusaders. This was peculiarly embarrassing to the Christian zeal, which cooled down considerably. Politically the allied rivals felt inclined to maintain the *status quo* and to try matters separately some other time. An agreement was made with Duke Ratibor, who promised to do everything possible in peace for Christendom, and the army turned back.

The other division was not more successful. Niklot had his fortress Dobin on the northeast bank of the Sea of Schwerin (between this body of water and a smaller one, which is still known as the Doepe). It was a real Wendenburg, protected by walls and surrounding water, and his men were concentrated there. The Crusaders were encamped in front of Dobin, while allies of both belligerents arrived by boat in the Bay of Wismar. At first



people came from Schleswig, Jutland, the Danish islands and Danish Shonen, but soon afterward the brave Ranen appeared, from the island of Rügen. The men from the Danish boats had mostly moved to Dobin overland, but some of them fled to the sea when the Ranen appeared, while the others met with heavy losses. Those in front of the stronghold made no progress and even suffered defeat. Furthermore, there was jealousy in this part of the army, on account of projected conquests which had not yet materialized, and Count Adolf desired to have matters back to the point where they were prior to the Crusade. Thus the spirit of enterprise was chilled. The end was similar to that attained by the other division,—a promise, which nobody seemed to take seriously, that the Obotrites would be Christianized through their chief, was accepted, whereupon the army returned home.

A hundred thousand Germans had been under arms, besides the Poles and Danes, for the purpose of Christianizing the south coast of the Baltic. It all ended like a sham fight, but the Crusaders who took part in it seemed to feel satisfied that they had kept their vow. There was one entirely different result of this Crusade. During the days of encampment on the borders of the sea and forests, in the beautiful Mecklenburg country around Dobin, Duke Henry and Duke Konrad had a personal approachment and the young Guelf asked for the hand of the

Zähringen's daughter, Clementia. In this manner, the House of Guelph reliably gained a new supporter in Suabia and a prominent ally in the kingdom.

While the North German conquest on the Baltic returned gradually to the method of previous years, South Germans, with the king, left Regensburg during the latter part of May, 1147, and moved down the river Danube. Besides many clergymen there were with the army the younger Frederick of Suabia, a Guelph, and Henry Jasomirgott, Duke Wadislaw II of Bohemia. At Constantinople, Emperor Manuel gave good advice as to the best plan of traversing Asia Minor in a roundabout way near the coast. In the German army, however, there were many men without means, the dubious result of crusading among the lower class of people, and naturally the shortest road through the country was desired.

Konrad could prevail on only a small detachment to take the route pointed out, leading through the Greek territories of Asia Minor, under the guidance of Bishop Otto von Freising. The main body of troops, on the march across the Seldschuke central land of Asia Minor, encountered so much hardship through difficult territory, hunger and enemies, that it finally turned back near Dorylæum, in October, 1147. But on the return trip, all these difficulties were fearfully increased and but a small remnant, dispirited and without discipline, again arrived in the Greek city Nicæa, where the French

contingent had just appeared. These Frenchmen left their country later than the Germans had done and they also passed through South Germany and the Balkan peninsula. King Konrad, ill from fatigue and much disheartened, was received with delicate courtesy by King Louis VII. Soon afterwards he left the French army, which followed the coast road, and went from Ephesus by boat to Constantinople, at the invitation of Emperor Manuel.

Many of the remaining Crusaders returned to Germany. The detachment under Otto von Freising, as well as the Frenchmen, suffered many losses. Both armies, one after the other, hired Greek ships for transportation to Syria. Otto's boats, owing to inclement weather and quarrels with the Greek shipmasters, lost sight of each other and landed in different parts of Middle Syria. Louis VII made a more northerly landing in the principality of Antiochia, founded by the Norman Bohemund, a son of Robert Guiscard. At that time the government of Antiochia was in the hands of Raimund de Poitou, who obtained it by marriage. Edessa could not be reconquered, nor anything else of importance be undertaken, without starting from Antiochia and fighting the bellicose Emirs of Upper Mesopotamia. From this quarter, the Crusaders were threatened by the Asiatic Saracens, while further south Palestine was protected by the Syrian

desert to the east. A combination of adverse circumstances precluded a sound, vigorous policy and prevented any beneficial result of the Crusade.

The first cause was a woman. The century of castigation and priestly enthusiasm was over. The delicate or bold devotion of women belonged to knights, who strutted about in arms and spurs; the reading of pious legends had given place to those of adventures, love fantasies, and the daring, dashing songs of the troubadour. With startling vehemence, first in France but soon in neighboring countries also, the desire for ascetic lassitude and retirement was supplanted by a longing for joy in this beautiful world, for carnal pleasures, an unbounded and impatient yearning for unrestrained liberty. In its revolutionary force it demolished the boundaries of eternal moral law. The days of Agnes de Poitou and Mathilde de Tuszien were followed by a generation of granddaughters who no longer demanded to kiss the hands of priests, and had no other use for their confessor than to be absolved.

Such a woman was Queen Eleanor of France, also a daughter of the House of Poitou, and, as if to show the change more drastically, she lived at the beginning of the "court" period. Eleanor de Poitou was as inquisitive about sin as she was beautiful. Even the Germans admitted her surpassing loveliness both before and after she had been divorced and had become Queen of England.

For generations her memory hovered like a mysterious specter in German poetry, as did that of the evil Venus in the Hoersel Mountain. King Louis could not leave her at home at the time of starting on his Crusade, but even at the court receptions in Antiochia, she took too violent a liking to her gallant, youthful uncle, Prince Raimund. Louis was obliged to start back with her as soon as possible, and as a consequence, the crusade in that territory was practically abandoned.

In the meantime, King Konrad, splendidly conducted by a Greek flotilla, came to Syria and went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where he was well received by the young King Baldwin III, and by the Patriarch, the clergy and the people. He gathered the men of Otto von Freising about him and went to Acre, where he, King Louis and Baldwin were to decide what to do. The desire of the Jerusalem government to conquer Damascus prevailed. The emir of that place, who had troubles of his own with his co-religionists of Mesopotamia, had been a very peaceable neighbor and consistent ally of Jerusalem. This city was enriched by commerce; through its gates passed the entire caravan trade from Mesopotamia and the interior of Asia to Egypt and the Syrian coast. This stirred the greed of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who were always in need of money. To please them, the Crusaders went from Acre, by way of Tiberias on the Sea

of Genezareth, to the outskirts of Damascus. There discord of all kinds broke out; those from Jerusalem were doubtful about receiving the fruit of a costly victory and, clandestinely resuming their relations with the emir, they purposely gave bad advice to the Crusaders, who were soon in distress. All sacrifices and feats of courage when trying to capture the citadel by storm were in vain. It is reported that King Konrad did marvels with his celebrated sword. Finally the men ran away and the Crusade collapsed.

On the 8th of September, 1148, King Konrad and the Germans took boats at Acre for Europe. Being greatly in need of rest, the king spent the whole winter at Constantinople, while the other German soldiers hurried home. Welf VI was no longer with them. Prior to the drive toward Damascus he went to Sicily, where he made plans against Konrad and the power of the Hohenstaufen family. This was all the more pleasing to King Roger II since, during Konrad's several visits to Constantinople, he had agreed with his brother-in-law, Emperor Emanuel, to take determined steps against the Normans. At Palermo it was believed that an alliance had been formed between Henry the Lion, Konrad of Zähringen and the younger Frederick of Staufen, who was made to believe he might be elected king. Welf VI took letters of King Roger, which were hidden in his baggage, to these three and others. While

such plans were made for Frederick of Staufen, his reappearance in Germany had considerably improved the position of his cousin, young King Henry, and his regency. It was practically only an interregnum. In the meantime, without being disturbed, Henry the Lion had increased his power as Duke of Saxony by forming a close connection with Adolf of Schauenburg or Holstein. Those Wenden princes who still were loyal to Germany recognized only the Duke of Saxony, and regarded him as their highest superior. Thus he was powerful throughout the north, and exercised also the Low-German authority over Slavonia during the numerous difficulties between Denmark and Schleswig.

One episode is recorded here to show the ancient Germanic customs still preserved by the Ditmarsen, who inhabited Western Holstein. They were an amalgamation of Saxon and Friesian immigrants who lived in the Marches called Diet-Marschen but had not acknowledged the government organized by the Carolingians, with counties and other divisions. Even after this form of government had been discontinued in other parts of the kingdom and replaced by the feudal constitution, they still maintained their rural communities divided into smaller groups called "Sippe," and their ancient customs. Among them a distinguished young man called Etheler, of the Edeeling family, gathered a following and presented each man with a horse and armor, holding his adherents

together by an oath of allegiance. Count Adolf, who anticipated disturbances from this organization, which was backed by Danish money, gave Etheler the choice of disbanding his partisans or leaving the country. He chose the latter alternative and entered Danish territory. During the differences of the Danish royal house, he and his followers always fought against the pretender backed by Count Adolf. Etheler finally lost his life in a battle with Adolf near the river Eider.

Welf VI returned to Germany, but the Roman Senate seized his baggage, and the letters of Roger, which had been concealed in it, were sent to King Konrad. At Rome a remarkable demonstration against the pope and a reactionary revolution had taken place, with the coöperation of Arnold de Brescia.

The reawakening of worldliness and realism since the first Crusade aimed to influence the dogma of the Church and sharply criticised the moral and spiritual life of the clergy. Peter Abélard appeared in France (1079-1142) as an influential teacher of a newer and more rational theology. Pupils of all nations crowded around him at Paris. One of these was Albert de Brescia (about 1100-55), who devoted his principal attention to criticising the ruling church and its personnel, while Abélard's dogmatic heresy was outwardly overcome by the intervention of Innocent II and of Bernhard de Clairvaux, who



at one time was one of Abélard's pupils. In 1147, Arnold went to Rome, where he preached, as he had done in other cities. He exhorted from the center of the church and urged the return of the clergy to apostolic simplicity and to earnest spiritual work, avoiding all intrusion in worldly affairs and worldly goods. One of Arnold's contemporaries, without fully realizing the meaning conveyed by his words, said: "What he teaches agrees with the gospel, but is in contradiction to all conditions of the Church." While Pope Eugenius III was obliged to flee, Arnold assisted in promulgating a reactionary constitution of Rome under a reigning senate.

During this period, when the spiritual emancipation of laymen everywhere revived the studies and matters of the pre-Christian era, the residence of the popes experienced the first of several attempts during the Middle Ages to restore the classical Rome known as *Senatus populusque Romanus*. There was an intention of rebuilding the ancient structures on the Capitol, a Roman *ordo equester*, where the vague knowledge of the antique mingled with the age of knighthood and orders. Since there was no prospect that the republican city could carry this through from its own powers, in the face of widespread resistance, the antique empire was to be restored with its seat at Rome. For this reason the senate forwarded Welf's intercepted letters to King Konrad.

In one communication after the other the senate implored the Hohenstaufen king to come and be crowned emperor, to restore the imperial power over the papacy, to reside in Rome and, by occupying the Engelsburg, to silence permanently the Leo city and the papacy. Konrad did not reply, for the proposal could be only a preposterous adventure for the German king. Rome and the senate then relaxed their zeal and, in 1149, Eugenius could take the risk of residing again in the Leo city. If Konrad had gone to Italy, it would have been in the interest of Eugenius. For the time, however, Henry the Lion retained him in Germany.

Welf's revolt had completely failed. Frederick, who in 1147 succeeded his father in Suabia, kept away from him, and the young King Henry defeated him decisively in the battle at Flochberg near Bopfingen, on the 8th of February, 1150. Frederick now became the mediator and procured for Welf, who submitted to the king, a pardon and an additional income from Suabia. Konrad, however, who had long suffered from illness, saw no more happy days. In the same year, 1150, his son Henry, who had already been elected his successor, died. At the same time Henry the Lion still claimed Bavaria, which became doubly embarrassing in view of the compromise of 1147. During 1150 and 1151 there were diplomatic negotiations with Henry and also formal citations to a congress, to which

the Guelph paid no attention. Finally it was decided to quiet him by force of arms, in September, 1152, after which the king intended to go to Rome. Before either of these plans was carried out Konrad died, on the 15th of February, 1152, at Bamberg. The inhabitants of Bamberg desired to have an additional royal grave in their city, because of which Konrad's wish to be buried in the Hohenstaufen family convent Lorch was disregarded. His private heir was his son Frederick, seven years old, who was afterwards called Duke of Rothenburg. In those times it was impossible to make the boy king and he and the insignia of the kingdom were intrusted to the care of Duke Frederick of Suabia.

After his death, the Cologne annals spoke of Konrad as a brave warrior of royal mind. Abbot Wibald of Stablo and Corvey, a prominent statesman who served under this king and his successor, and whose collection of important letters and documents has been preserved, the annalists described as a loving father. Personally, Konrad inspired only sympathy, but he was raised to the position of king in the face of great difficulties and by a party which was really not his own, as was the case with Lothair, but he did not progress in the same degree as the last named to final authority and independence. His reign left the important questions in kingdom and Church to be solved by his successor.

## CHAPTER XXI

### FREDERICK I—HENRY VI—PHILIP— OTTO IV

**W**E come now to the man whose memory, as the incarnation of a heroic and splendid imperial epoch, sufficed to console later generations for the wretchedness of their own times, and encouraged them not to lose faith in German strength and German will.

The people could forget Otto the Great, and even the splendid Karl was not remembered beyond the eleventh century, when the dust had covered all worldly deeds and fame. During the turbulent period of the Crusades the world relapsed into evil ways and Karl was remembered only as a Saracen fighter, who had been to the Orient. This was a new picture, formed in accordance with the young ideals and fancies of the knighthood period, to which the great emperor lent his name. It is suggestive that, surrounded by paladins and knights, endowed with amiable epic, he appears much more insignificant than they. No passing centuries, however, were able to dim the imperial splendor which glowed from the Redbeard's armor. The myths and prophecies

about secret coexistence of active heroes with German destinies and their return were gradually transferred to him by the people. From Wodan, skipping other historical figures and finally the younger Frederick II, the mountain legend settled upon Emperor Redbeard and remained there.

When, in 1806, the last remnants of the old empire and of German imperial government became things of the past, the indignation of the people resounded from the Kyffhäuser legend, but the new hope which was repeated through the mouths of the youth of those days, in the young poetry of romances, declared that Emperor Frederick should return and strike the shield. From a wretched, oppressed present without an emperor, when crowds of all kinds encircled Germany, there were dreams of ending all disgrace and meanness, through the romantic miracle of a new Hohenstaufen empire. Even during the national constitutional struggles of 1848 and 1849 not a few people believed that the empire to be created would be strengthened and embellished by Hohenstaufen reminiscences and additions. In this manner, the name alone of Emperor Frederick filled the nineteenth century as a holy, all-embracing blessing. Whoever spoke of the period of German emperors thought of him, and educated, patriotic Germany clung to the writings of the man who at that time wrote most truthfully and attractively, the "History of the German Empire Period"

(*Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*). Wilhelm Giesebrecht and the people with him hoped for and looked forward to the scientific picture of that national apex of German history in the Middle Ages. Soon after beginning to write the history of the great Hohenstaufen, Giesebrecht's work was cut short by death. One of his devoted pupils,—B. von Simson, a conscientious historian, completed the "History of Emperor Frederick I." In the meantime the Germans could dispense with the Redbeard as, in exchange for the cult of his name, they had received a more precious and tangible thing,—a new empire. A monument to Emperor Wilhelm stands on the Kyffhäuser, and the emperor of the legend has left the mountain to enter again into history. Without reserve the annals tell us, in the cool morning light of a new German era, that the present empire is better protected and founded more firmly than was the dream realm of Barbarossa, and in spite of all the eagerness of its soldiers and the personal strength of its hero.

On the 4th of March, 1152, at Frankfort on the Main, Duke Frederick of Suabia, who had been designed by Konrad III as his successor, was unanimously and without difficulty elected king. Some of the electors thought of Konrad's son, and others of the Guelphs, not in the interest of those people, rather in their own, but they quickly relinquished their selfish ideas. The two parties which under

Konrad III drifted apart,—the Hohenstaufen and the Guelphs, with their followers in worldly and church-circles,—found that their interests paralleled in the direction of Frederick of Suabia, whose mother, Judith, belonged to the house of Guelph. This tendency to union was increased by the fact that Duke Frederick had never identified himself with his uncle. In fact, he had previously acted as the bridge connecting the two parties. The two Guelphs, Duke Henry and his uncle, Welf VI, were present at the election of their Hohenstaufen cousin and nephew, which they regarded as their own victory. The new king intrusted Welf VI with the Duchy of Spoleto, the margraviate of Tuscia and the domains of Mathilde. Frederick thus incorporated these domains in his kingdom with the intention of turning them over to their former owner, who was a brother of Henry the Proud. Lothair intrusted them to Henry the Proud, while they were under the pope's highest jurisdiction. Duke Konrad of Zähringen died on the 8th of January, 1152. His son, Bertold IV, attended the election at Frankfort, where Frederick recognized him as successor to the office and title of Statthalter von Burgund, and made a written agreement with him to undertake some military expeditions in common. It was his intention to extend the authority of the kingdom and of the "Statthalter" to southern Burgundy, from the river Rhone to the Sea of Tyrrhene, where the

royal authority had gradually dwindled to a mere claim. Only the Babenberg family may have feared to lose prestige; otherwise throughout the kingdom and the princely houses there was the joyful, hearty feeling of unity, of willingness to yield, and of hope for a new era of reconciliation, compromise and grand progress.

Frederick's appearance should not be judged from the pictures bearing his name, some of which were chiseled in stone and others painted on parchment books. At that time, architecture had become a great art; plastic and painting, from an artist's point of view, also deserved, partly at least, full recognition or even admiration; but art in producing portraits was limited to timid and amateurish ingenuousness. Since the ninth century, when the Church prevented laymen from acting independently, it was forbidden in the Occident to make an image. For a long time afterwards people did not care to do so and did not think even of trying it. On the imperial seals were small figures wholly lacking in individuality, being only symbols of a reigning person intrusted with the insignia. The stamp-maker formed these from his imagination, or by copying the seal of the preceding ruler. Importance was attached to the insignia and not to the portrait.

This statement applies also to miniatures and other pictures. Those who had to reproduce an emperor or any other person of importance made



no more effort, beyond securing the characteristics of the rank and station, to reproduce the features than did the artists of the sixteenth century, when painting Alexander the Great, realize that their carelessly made picture showed clumsiness. Rembrandt, too, cared little for the costumes of Christ's contemporaries, and a modern artist does not shrink from producing a Dido, an ancient dancer or a Salome, after a Berlin model. The "insignia," in this case the costume, will be found conventionally correct, but the rest is regarded as of no importance and is accepted thoughtlessly. Realism in art and painting has become relatively more sensitive, but has not wholly absorbed the artist's arbitrariness. In reproductions during the twelfth century, the features were not considered of special importance. It may be interesting to look upon the old portraits of Frederick Barbarossa, for which he never posed, but his real appearance can only be judged from the literary descriptions. All agree in the main; the best being furnished by Italians, who were in advance of their age. These represent Frederick as a well-built man of medium height and well-proportioned, straight limbs. A native of Lombardy spoke of his beautiful, fine hands, while a German called attention to the healthy, powerful body and the massive chest. The curly hair was of a shade between blond and red. In his prime the emperor's beard, which was of the same color, was short, and it is

quite likely that he never wore it long. The Italians called him Barbarossa, which is the equivalent of Redbeard. His skin, through which the warm blood glowed, and his complexion were of the delicate, white tint usually found in reddish-blond people. The mouth was handsome and the teeth excellent while his light colored eyes were bright and penetrating. His handsome face bore a look of serene and great superiority which never permitted the expression of excitement from pain or anger. Frederick understood a number of foreign languages but, according to an Englishman, he was so fond of his German mother tongue (*in tantum vero nativum Alemannie venerabatur eloquium*) that he referred ambassadors not speaking it to interpreters. Of course, he was familiar with the Suabian dialect, although the Englishman did not mention that fact. Frederick's most conspicuous traits were a high sense of royal responsibility, wise determination and a broadly developed love of justice which, at the same time, insisted upon absolute, formal compliance with the law. This was the source of his steady efforts to bring into clearly written forms the constitution of the country, as well as the rights of the empire, on the basis of legal acts and judicial expert opinions.

On the 9th of March, 1152, the new ruler was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, whence he went to Lorraine and then to Saxony, where his presence

was urgently required. From there he settled the long pending differences between various groups claiming the Danish throne, since the principal claimants desired to be recognized by the German king and future emperor. Frederick selected Swen, a son of Erich Emund, by the ceremony of the sword (symbol for inducting kings), and adjudged considerable land as a compromise to the second claimant, Canute, a son of Magnus, and to another Danish prince, Waldemar, a son of Canute Laward. Denmark, previously looked after by the Duke of Saxony, thus appeared under the higher authority of the German king.

Soon after having revived the royal authority in the north, he proclaimed in the south a high constitution of the kingdom, such as existed under Otto I and Konrad II. As newly crowned king he rode through the entire country. From Saxony he went across southern Germany and, in the beginning of 1153, appeared in Burgundy. On the 30th of January, he was greeted at Kolmar, an Alsatian-Swabian city, by Duke Bertold of Zähringen, who, however, did not take part in the expedition to Burgundy, either personally or through the thousand armored riders promised the preceding year. This presaged some unusual turn. The royal chancellor tried to find for Duke Bertold every possible title except that of Statthalter of Burgundy, and Frederick at once started negotiations with Bertold's

enemy. This was the family of the lately deceased Rainald, previously mentioned, whose daughter Beatrix was heir to the richest count's domain in Burgundy. Frederick came to the neighborhood of Besançon, then turned back and went to Constance, where he passed the month of March. There he made an agreement with Pope Eugenius III, who was threatened by Romans and Normans, to be crowned emperor soon and to be divorced from Adelheid von Vohburg by papal decree.

Court receptions were held in the Rhenish country, at which suddenly appeared bishops of the Provence, also the Dauphin, who was ruler of the Dauphiné around Grenoble. These people had failed for a long time to attend such meetings, but now transacted their business in them. Early in 1154 Frederick went to Saxony. There, by pronunciamiento at Goslar, he declared valid the claim of Henry the Lion against Heinrich Jasomirgott, for the return of Bavaria. In other words, he pronounced unjustified the transfer of Bavaria to the Babenberger by Konrad III. At the same time, he granted the Saxon duke the extraordinary privilege for Church and kingdom of investing the mission bishops in the Obotrite territory. The two cousins were now working hand in hand and seemed to rest the future on their confidence in each other. Frederick hurried to Italy. Only a small force accompanied him, but there were numerous worldly

and clerical princes who desired to be present when the king was crowned emperor. Among them was Duke Bertold of Zähringen, who thus complied with the second portion of his agreement of 1152, and now seemed anxious not to miss anything by being absent. Throughout Bertold's interesting life, which was somewhat similar to that of the great Hohenstaufen, there was an evident desire on his part to adhere to the king and coöperate with him in promoting the welfare of the whole kingdom, and get as close to him as the Guelph Henry, who through Frederick's friendship was so generously promoted. With this aim, Bertold made sacrifices and accepted bitter disappointments, but still remained the yielding, modest, true, capable assistant in the field and in many difficult political situations.

From Lechfeld, Frederick passed over the Brenner Mountain and, towards the end of November, 1154, on the plain of Roncaglia near Piacenza, according to a new custom of kings going to Rome, he held a review (*Lehnsmusterung*). It has not been ascertained whether this popular meeting place near Roncaglia was to the right of the river Po, or near Castelnovo di Roncaglia, to the left of the Po. The shield was raised on a high pole and the heralds called up the night watch. This service was rendered to the king by his immediate vassals, who, in turn, were served in a similar manner by their tenants, and thus it went, through the different

ranks of the kingdom. This system is called "Heerschild." On the following day a feudal court was held, to punish those guilty of neglect of duty through being absent without leave.

The king remained five days and received people from northern Italy for homage, and acted as a court of justice. Besides the vassals there appeared representatives of large and small cities with greetings and presents. Lions, ostriches and other rare birds were presented to him by Genoa, the seaport on the Riviera, which had prospered greatly through the Crusades and expeditions to the Levant. Together with Pisa, her rival, she was considered the wealthiest city and most powerful shipping center in Italy. The people seemed to understand that the gentleman who had crossed the Alps would not be satisfied with mere politeness and with being considered a figurehead who did nothing more than grant privileges. Continuing his march, Frederick was obliged to declare the city of Milan an outlaw, because his decisions in complaints about outraging other cities were not accepted there. He also had to capture Chieri and Asti, besides destroying Fortona, as these places resisted him in support of Milan. He tried to resume his journey as soon as possible and it was correctly said, that he had not yet fully comprehended the contradictions which presented themselves on every side. The result of this first trip to Rome was valuable as a political reconnoissance.

About the beginning of June, 1155, near Rome, north of the city, the emperor met Pope Hadrian IV, who had been elected the previous December. This man was an Englishman whose worldly name was Nicholas Breakspeare, and who had traveled a great deal in his clerical capacity. In 1152, he established the Archbishopric of Drontheim and its diocese, thus taking Norway from Bremen's Metropolitan jurisdiction over the north and binding that country more closely to Rome. He also succeeded in driving Arnold de Brescia from Rome, and the fugitive then strayed through Italy. So far, Hadrian had only the right bank of the city, the Leo city, the Engelsburg, St. Peter's and the Vatican. The city proper was still ruled by the senate, under the reactionary constitution. Like Konrad III, Frederick refused to deal with the senate. After first declining to do so he held the pope's stirrup, upon learning authoritatively that older princes had done so. On the evening of the 17th of June the Leo city was occupied by soldiers, and on the morning of the 18th, Frederick was crowned emperor in the Church of St. Peter, whence he returned to the encampment in front of the city, on the meadows of Neroni. While the coronation dinner was being served, the Romans, angered by the quickly performed ceremony without their participation, for which they expected to receive 500 pounds of silver, rushed over the Tiber bridge to the

Church of St. Peter and surprised the last of the returning German soldiers. Hearing of this, the emperor and princes quickly left the table and with their men hurriedly returned to the city, where in street fights which were ended only by nightfall and during which Henry the Lion particularly distinguished himself, they drove the mob back over the bridge. On the following day the emperor led his army, as a relief from marching, battles and heat, to the Teverone (Anio), and soon afterwards to the heights of the Apennine.

The pope, who accompanied the emperor, had the great satisfaction of seeing Arnold de Brescia apprehended and delivered into the hands of the papal authorities. At a time and place unrevealed, Arnold died bravely on the gallows, after refusing to make an appeal. His ashes were scattered in the river Tiber, so that no relic might remain of a martyr and sanctified heretic. Thus Frederick sacrificed a man who soon afterwards could have become one of his powerful supporters. It must be understood, however, that at the time of turning Arnold over to his foes, Frederick could regard him only as a teacher of erroneous dogma. All his conflicts with the papacy, like those which previously occurred under Henry IV, were fights for power, into which no clerical element entered.

Frederick's further aim was to proceed against the Normans, whose king, Roger, had been suc-



ceeded by Wilhelm I (1154-66). The princes, however, remonstrated with him by calling attention to the exhaustion of the small army, and insisted on returning home, even after a Greek messenger delivered to Emperor Frederick, at Ancona, a request of Emperor Manuel to carry out the old plans agreed upon with the late Konrad III for a joint campaign. Frederick had to yield, and to excuse several of the impatient princes at Ancona, who hurried home by different routes. Then he moved, "not without a feeling, a bitterness in his heart," down Flamine and Aemili streets towards Brenner street, accompanied by Henry the Lion, Bertold von Zähringen, Otto von Wittelsbach (a Bavarian whose title was Pfalzgraf), and the much reduced army. On the way Milan was once more declared an outlaw city and deprived of her regalia. The execution of this edict and of all other important Italian plans, however, had to be postponed for another and greater campaign.

On this return trip occurred an incident which through its later consequences in Bavarian history will remain forever memorable,—a brave Wittelsbach deed for the emperor. In many Italian cities there was unrest about the German government, among others, in Verona. The inhabitants, according to an old custom, had to build, a little above the city, a pontoon bridge over the river Adige (Etsch), for the passing German army. This time

they constructed it as (wael) weak as possible, so that it might be destroyed by the drifting and strong floats while the Germans were crossing it. Through miscalculation this plan failed, and when the floats tore away the middle pontoons, the army had already reached the left bank. On the following day, the troops experienced a new surprise in the narrow pass of Verona, which the Germans called Berner Klause. There the steep rocks are close to both banks of the river Adige and leave only a narrow path on the left shore, (this locality has been mentioned on a previous occasion). Knight Alberich of Verona, with several hundred daring men, occupied the positions commanding this road, including a stronghold, which could only have been where the river winds around a protruding cliff and where a fortress of later construction may still be seen. These "enemies," as was frequently the case with Italian adventurers, were people who were open to propositions; they were willing to clear the road on receipt of a large payment from the emperor, and a horse or a coat of mail from each of the knights. What was refused with ringing words to Romans, could not possibly be granted these footpads, but the position was bad enough.

To turn back would have been disgraceful and not advisable, owing to the hostile actions of the inhabitants of Verona. The highwaymen had purposely permitted some of the Germans to pass and

it was absolutely necessary for the others to follow them. Frederick ordered his men to unsaddle and to camp in the narrow space. He also jested about the position, but could not give any immediate advice. The solution came through the prominent citizens of Verona who were obliged to accompany the emperor through the outskirts of their city and did not feel in a very comfortable situation. They pointed to a rock as entrance to the stronghold which barred the road. It seemed inaccessible, and for that reason their opponents did not occupy it; but if the summit could be reached, their advantage would be gone. Otto von Wittelsbach, who was palsgrave (pfalsgraf) in the Duchy of Bavaria, undertook to do so with a number of men, and these surefooted Bajowars succeeded in scaling the cliff. It was exceedingly difficult, for the rock was as smooth as slate. In the absence of ropes, the men used their lances and climbed one over the shoulders of the other like a living ladder. One of the first to arrive was Otto, the standard bearer on this expedition to Rome, who at once unfurled the banner. At the foot and on the top of the cliff the joyful war cry of the onrushing Germans rang out, and their opponents, with retreat cut off, came to a miserable end.

Soon after his return the emperor, who had been divorced from Adelheid von Vohburg, married Beatrix of Burgundy on the 10th of June, at

Würzburg. Beatrix, the mother of the younger Hohenstaufen generation, has been described as an attractive, graceful woman, with light, kindly eyes and golden hair. Frederick transferred the Duchy of Suabia to his ward Frederick, son of the late King Konrad III, but he was permitted to keep the land around Eger and Giengen obtained by marrying Adelheid von Vohburg. Through this marriage to Beatrix, Frederick became possessed of larger and more lucrative property and he personally assumed the government of western and southern Burgundy. Duke Bertold renounced the extension of his territory promised in 1152, and was satisfied with Transjurania, where he retained the title of Rector. He was also intrusted with jurisdiction (*Reichsvogtei*) over the bishoprics of Geneva, Lorraine and Sitten, with the local privilege of investiture of regalia, the same that Henry the Lion had in the northern border lands. The compromise with Bertold of Zähringen was made during the latter part of 1156, but prior to it, on the 17th of September of that year, the Bavarian differences were finally adjusted. Heinrich Jasomirgott withdrew his claim in favor of Henry the Lion, but received Austria as an independent duchy, with the new privilege of heredity in the female line, including the obligation of doing homage to the emperor and furnishing troops in the vicinity of Austria only. All this was the beginning of Austria's separate position in the em-

pire, which the House of Hapsburg afterwards improved in every possible way. The event had an even more important meaning of principle attached to it. Again, like Lorraine previously, one of the large duchies which frequently obstructed the crown's power was disintegrated, and Frederick used the same method much more thoroughly afterwards. Through the center of the Bajowars' original territory now ran the boundary of a duchy which, through future changes, was destined to become the boundary of an empire.

Frederick gave his best efforts to the restoration of internal peace and order, by inflicting stern penalties for wrongdoing. On the Rhine, the Archbishopric of Mainz protested against its worldly neighbors. The emperor did not fear the nobility; he blamed the archbishop, and punished the oppressors by the so-called "dog-carrying." They were compelled to walk about barefooted on cold winter days.

Among them was the Lotharingian palsgrave, Herman of Stahleck. After his death, Frederick conferred the palatinate upon his (Herman's) half-brother Konrad. He united the Lotharingian-Rhenish office, which was originally connected with Aachen, as well as the Rhenish estates which belonged to it, with his old Salic-Frankish property. At Heidelberg, where the Neckar flows into the Rhenish plain from the mountains, he built a castle

between rock and river, and thus became the founder of the "Palatinate on the Rhine," with the residence at Heidelberg. During late years it has been discovered that not only had the old castle influenced the building of Heidelberg, but also the buildings on the Jettenbühl erected in the time of Konrad.

Another castle was added in the valley of the Upper Rhine on January 1, 1158. Frederick exchanged Henry the Lion's Zähringian estate, which he had received as dowry, for his own domains near the Haardt. This Zähringian property contained the castle and estate of Badenweiler, in the Breisgau. Thus he sought and won new positions for his family along the entire Rhine. The regions near the banks of the stream were the most densely settled territory, the center of communication and tolls, and the most important provinces of the empire. Standing almost in their geographical center, upon the heights near the Haardt, rose the castle of Trifels, with its minor castles. Anebos and Scharfenberg, which were connected by walls, actually formed a "Drei-fels" (three rocks). The main castle was strong and modern, built in conformity with ancient technic acquired in the Orient, and was adorned with a beautiful marble hall. Frederick erected many other castles, the most beautiful of which is perhaps the one at Geluhausen, on the Isle of Kinzing, which he acquired in 1158, after its ruling house had become extinct. At Lautern, too,

upon a lonely height of the Haardt in the royal forest, he reared a greatly admired country castle, surrounded by lakes and luxuriant verdure of which the modern city of Kaiserslautern reminds us.

Public peace was first established in the individual territories, and upon this basis a law concerning the same was announced. This law contained an important innovation which resembled the Roman attitude. The manner in which the defendants or plaintiffs were aided by shameless perjury was brought to an end. The "divine verdict" was left only for the peasantry, and for penalty corporal punishment was provided. The old and confusing distinction between free and unfree was abandoned; the law spoke clearly of professions, of priests, knights, merchants, peasants, etc. Peasants were rigidly forbidden to carry arms, the travelling merchant must hold his sword in his carriage or tie it to his saddle, and not to his girdle. It will be seen that this regulation considerably increased the dignity of knighthood and brought it to a social distinction which marked the whole Hohenstaufen period. Other measures give us an instructive insight into the conditions of those distant days; the speculation with corn was stopped by the law that the count and a number of selected experts should annually establish a fixed price for corn, on September 8, (Maria's birthday), after the completion of the harvest. All who violated this law were to be

punished severely. You need not be reminded that the "corn" of those times was not the maize or Indian corn of today.

The success was considerable in all directions. Zähringians and Babenbergs were satisfied with the amends they received. Frederick's brother and Stauffic sat gratefully on their estates. The ecclesiastical princes, as well as the people, looked in thankful confidence upon the powerful guardian of peace, who was a true "Friede-rich" (peace-rex), and who personally razed the castles of the oppressors of the people on the Rhine. Particularism was brought to an end, and a nation's pride united all Germans, whose ruler was able to exact tribute for several decades from princes and lords on the Burgundic Rhone, and whom Danes and Slavs named with awe. Opponents seemed to be reconciled, former enemies united and worked "harmony on behalf of the nation where there was place for more than one hero." For centuries the Lower Saxons sang in memory of these times:

"Henry the Lion, and Albrecht the Bear,  
Frederick also with his red hair,  
Three rulers they were,  
The whole world they could tear."

In addition to this trio, there was another not so well known among the people, but he was a leader of the time. He was the son of a Saxon count dwelling on the Weser,—Rainald of Dassel,—who



in 1056 became Frederick's chancellor. Germany was perfectly arranged. The same was to be done for Italy, following the journey to Rome in 1158.

Many still question whether the Italian policy of the Hohenstaufens and all they had obtained benefited the German empire. Especially in the sixties of the nineteenth century, historians and statesmen keenly argued to prove the triumph of the "little German" idea. Today the empire is firmly established and we need not express our opinion. It is more worth while to inquire into its concrete causes and motives, since the more ideal ones are obvious. The Hohenstaufens had to preserve the rights of the empire beyond the Alps, as the noblest task of a ruler.

The internal reforms brought about by Charlemagne were very evident in the period of Frederick, because he who wisely arranged everything was willing to make use of the results. The centralistic-direct government was displaced by its distribution among feudal princes, from which speedily developed the power of the rulers of different provinces. The supreme sovereign of the country no longer reigned through the princes, but simply carried on politics with them. This fact induced Frederick in the first place to rely upon the ecclesiastical princes, as did Otto the First, while at the same time he entertained friendly relations with the

dukes. The former were chosen and endowed with office by him, whereupon they became loyal to the ruler of the empire and to the state idea. Again, he was led for reasons of government to make use of the imperial servants, and his adherents. The same emperor who, in his law concerning peace, had distinguished between knights and others, had also brought all the ministers into closer relation with the knightly freemen, and thus ended a former considerable class distinction. He also conferred offices upon such Hohenstaufen ministers, made them rulers of entire provinces, and created a system which proved markedly successful.

In a fiscal and financial respect, the losses of the crown since Charlemagne, were very significant. The immense Carlovingian estates and regalia became the property of the princes and the church. All that the Hohenstaufens possessed as house demesne and crown demesne could no longer suffice for the heavy expenditure of the crown, and for securing its independence from the princes. Frederick must have been glad because of his rich marriage, but he sought for other material aid and, since he could not get it in Germany, he procured it in Italy. The economical aspect became wholly new: navigation and commerce, cities and the bourgeois, set aside the old agrarian conditions: a monetary system wholly displaced the natural; all this flourished nowhere so satisfactorily as in Italy, upon

which the eyes of the emperor were now specially directed.

All of Upper Italy, with its very favorable means of communication, its fine, ancient Roman roads, its rivers and channels, largely participated in the commerce of Byzantium and the Levant, and with the people of Pisa, Genoa and Venice. Naturally the cities in the interior increased in population, and became places of importance, the centers of transportation, trades and money exchange. Meanwhile, the feudal system in Lombardy was almost entirely destroyed. The ancient captains and valvassores (tenants or vassals of barons) had gone to the cities, even though they had large estates and castles in the country. In many instances they were compelled to make the change. They formed the nobili of the towns, and as patricians and leading merchants were of importance. Thus they, too, helped to give the towns control of the regalia of the bishoprics. The cities had turned the territory around them into regions which they could control; and the most prominent among them now attempted to make their influence felt in the neighboring towns of minor importance, and to govern them politically and economically. In the whole of Lombardy, it was Milan which strove most ruthlessly and determinedly to this end. Frederick now endeavored to curtail the power of the cities, to end the transformation of Italy into a number of great city-

republics, and to obtain from the regalia which they had controlled during the period when the empire entirely neglected Italy, the material aid that the empire sorely needed. This was the object of the imperial journey to Italy, undertaken in 1158 with a powerful army. Before it began, however, it became clear that Frederick's plans were opposed not only by one factor, but by two, the second being the papacy. They formed an opposition too formidable to be disregarded.

In October, 1157, Frederick accompanied by Beatrice reached Burgundy and held court at Besançon. He had subjugated all Burgundy, and the lords of the provinces came in person from the Tyrrhenian Sea, or sent a messenger to prove their loyalty. At Besançon also appeared an embassy of Pope Hadrian, under the leadership of the Cardinal-Chancellor Roland. They protested against an attack made upon the Danish Archbishop, Eskil of Lund. Meanwhile, in June, 1155, Adrian IV had made peace with the Normans, bestowed a feud upon King William, and entered into an alliance with him. Thus strengthened, he brought into submission Rome to the left of the Tiber. Now he was enabled to oppose the emperor.

In the presence of the sovereign and the princes, the message of the pope was read by Rainald of Cassel as chancellor, and at the same time was translated into German. With increasing indignation

the hearers noted the truculent character of the letter. When Rainald reached that part where the pope spoke of the imperial crown and other "beneficia" of the Church toward Frederick, he could have made the word "benefits" but he translated it "feuds." He was correct in doing thus with such very important ambiguities. The conception of the pope respecting the imperial crown can be proved by old and by more recent evidence; for instance, the picture of the coronation of Lothair in the signature. Had there been no other testimony, Cardinal Roland supplied it by calling aloud to the princes: "From whom then has he the empire, if not from his lordship, the pope?" Some afterwards related—others tried to forget it—how the Bavarian blood of the palsgrave Otto of Wittelsbach boiled, and he wanted to attack the papal messenger. Many demanded that the cardinals should be punished, but the emperor protected them and Rainald escorted them to their residences.

But Frederick took care that they should leave before creating more mischief. He confiscated their papers, and thus arose the new conflict between Church and state, giving rise to a vehement pen war. Much depended upon the bishops. Frederick always strove to leave formally to them all the privileges laid down in the Concordat of Worms, but he meant to exert an influence upon the election of those persons he deemed fit. So far, he had an

undivided empire, siding with him, and Hadrian thought it advisable to send two messengers to the plain near the Lech with word that he had meant "feuds" by "beneficia." He still thought Frederick had been misled by Rainald of Cassel, and endeavored to keep them apart.

The army that accompanied the emperor was so large that it had to use four different Alpine passes, —the Great St. Bernard, the Spluegen, the Brenner, and one more to the east. Among the princes were the Dukes of Suabia, Zähringia, Austria and the Bohemian Wladislaw, upon whom Frederick had just conferred the royal title through an imperial edict. Milan was besieged September 7 and surrendered, although the German strategy of besieging and the use of artillery was inferior to the Italian, which had been learned in Syria. Milan was forced to give up all regalia and its consuls had to be sanctioned by Frederick; (these since the eleventh century were called the chief rulers of this leading city of Upper Italy and they were chosen only for a short period). After this speedy success, Frederick could turn to the more important task of making new laws regarding the regalia and the officers of the cities. The noblemen and the officials of Italy were asked to appear on the Roncalian Fields on November 11, 1158, where new rules should be established, and old and obscure ones revised and renewed.

For the latter purpose, Frederick made use of the codified Roman law which had been taught during the last few decades. It greatly influenced the communal laws of the Lombardic cities. From the ruins of old schools of rhetoric new private law schools arose, since law and rhetoric in Italy were always closely connected, and Irnerius (1050-1130) had written a volume which was used as a text book in schools. It was he who made Bológna, instead of Ravenna, the most important place of learning. Frederick summoned the four leading teachers of Bologna,—Bulgarus, Martinus, Jacobus and Hugo,—who, assisted by twenty-eight representatives of Lombardic cities, were to establish laws regarding the privileges of the crown and its regalia. The work was thus fixed upon a historical basis. The conception of these erudite gentlemen regarding the worldly omnipotence of the imperial crown, greatly influenced by Justinian, is obvious in all their laws. As a result of this entire procedure an immense sum of tolls, income from coins, mines and forests went to the emperor. Besides this he was to see that the penalties imposed upon people, as well as the property of those that were convicted, were on the basis of the Justinian constitution. He had also the privilege to nominate all manner of officers, and to fix the "Sodrum," a tax exacted in order to support the journeys of German armies to Italy. It is hardly necessary to add that owing to

the immense economic elevation of Italy the regalia were worth a great deal more than in previous times. As long as this change of conditions in the country was in a theoretical state, all passed smoothly, but when the attempt was made to carry through Roncalian decisions, difficulties and oppositions appeared. Frederick, who had dismissed a part of his army soon after the occupation of Milan, was compelled to ask for reënforcements, with whom came Henry the Lion and Welf the Sixth. In May, 1159, Milan and other dependent and allied cities opened hostilities anew. The German armies intrenched themselves near the walls of Crema. For seven months the city was besieged, and resisted with great courage. At the same time, battles were fought with the people of Milan. If the impatient and exasperated monarch threatened the slaying of his prisoners, the inhabitants of the city retaliated upon their captives. The entire Occidental world and contemporary annalists anxiously awaited the result of this siege of Crema, where the German army, aided by Lombards, made use of the most recent technic of warfare. Finally, on January 26, 1160, the city surrendered. The valiant defenders left, on the following day, with as much property as they were able to carry. During the sacking, Crema became a prey of the flames. It was the turn of Milan next and the city was carefully isolated by Frederick from all aid and com-



munication. On March 1, 1161, Milan surrendered, but the terrors of the preceding winter, during which famine beset all the inhabitants, destroyed the last vestige of order in the city.

Frederick postponed his occupancy of the place. He asked the knights, the consuls, and all citizens to appear before him and take the oath of allegiance. On March 6 he received the main body of the fighting citizens. They came with the military sanctuary of Milan, the huge iron-wrought Caroccio which contained the picture of Archbishop Ambrosius, the saint of the city. This picture could be shifted so as to give out blessings anywhere and everywhere. Beneath the painting was the banner of the city. The picture was lowered before Frederick and he took off the banner. With bated breath, the citizens stared at the conqueror, whose face seemed to have turned to stone. The decision was announced a few days afterwards and was to the effect that the lives of the people should be spared, but the city should be utterly destroyed.

It was a terrifying and shocking fate, but such is war, the greatest scourge of humanity. In a military sense the decision was wise, for it would "draw the fangs" of the most formidable foe of the empire and make the minor towns more loyal than before.

The houses and forts were to be laid waste, and only the deserted churches were to remain among

the ruins. The citizens were given from the 19th to the 26th of March to arrange their affairs and look after their belongings. Four places, situated at a sufficient distance from each other, were offered to them as future residences. The Lombards were to execute the sacking together with the Bohemians, as the masters of destruction and ruin. Bohemians at that time were exclusively Czechs, "a dreadful race, hated by man and God," as the historians of the twelfth century uniformly called them. They began with the most destructible, and then demolished the fortifications. Such had been the custom in similar cases ever since the destruction of ancient Jerusalem. The emperor took the most important relics from the churches and distributed them, sooner or later, among the ecclesiastical princes. Thus the "Three Holy Kings" came to Cologne (1164) as a present of Rainald of Cassel, who was made archbishop in 1159.

After this fearful decision concerning the destruction of Milan, the other cities surrendered, all obeying either willingly or through force. Those cities that were loyal usually obtained their chosen consuls, whom the emperor forced to take an oath before him. The less loyal cities were given imperial officers who ruled over entire provinces. In this way Frederick reorganized the remnants of the feudal constitution. The "missi" of Charlemagne, who had maintained themselves in Italy for

a relatively long time, were revived. The German officers whom the emperor employed were taken from his episcopal adherents and ministers.

The knights of Grimbach, Dorstadt, Ballhausen, Lenchtenberg, Heinsberg, Egelolf of Urslingen, etc., became powerful rulers. Afterwards the Suabians,—Konrad of Luetzelhardt, near Lahr in Baden—Muscancervello, (Gnath-in-the-Brain, as the Italians called him on account of his quick decisions), and Konrad of Ursbingen,—became governors of the March Ancona and of Spoleto respectively. Imperial castles and mints were erected in the Lombardic cities, and in the country, towers and palaces, and the military government was looked after. Rainald of Cologne, imperial arch-chancellor for Italy, spent most of his time there as the supervisor and furtherer of the whole organization.

Meanwhile, Adrian IV had died on the 1st of September, 1159. Cardinal Roland, Alexander III, was chosen as his successor by the opponents, whereas the minority of cardinals selected Victor IV. The latter was recognized by the emperor. After Victor's death, 1164, a reconciliation would have been possible; but this meant neglect of Rainald of Cassel, the Archbishop of Cologne. He rejoiced in arms and deeds, and the consecration which he had obtained as deacon when he was a young man sufficed for his high ecclesiastical office.

In him, Alexander, like his predecessor Adrian, saw the false guide of the emperor, and the dangerous representative of the founding of a German imperial church independent of Rome. Upon his own initiative Rainald chose Paschal the Third, and thus dissipated all hope for peace between Church and state. At most it would have been only a new armistice, imposing upon the latter great sacrifices. The emperor ratified the choice and could never be separated from Rainald, although the latter spent most of his time in Italy and therefore could not personally influence him. At the same time, Frederick visibly and solemnly renewed the memory of the mighty Charlemagne before the Germans and other nations.

After the fall of Milan, the emperor had returned to Germany, where he remained most of the time until 1163. On Christmas, 1165, he came to Aachen and ordered that the remains of Charlemagne should be disintombed and placed in a precious coffin. In the name of Pope Paschal, Rainald announced the sanctification of the great ruler who had founded the empire, and Frederick called him, as he had done previously, according to a document composed at that time, his "august model." New biographies of Charlemagne were prepared which pictured him as the crusading, knightly emperor in accordance with French legends.

Out of the Crusades which were to use and show

the Occident in its international adherence to Rome's aims arose, as always, the opposite of what was aimed at,—a national feeling of the various peoples. Thriving upon the rivalries and feuds of different groups, it soon seized the hearts of all by changing the universal sentiment. On the way to the Orient the Germans no longer felt themselves to be Suebians, Franks, Saxons and Bavarians, but rather Germans, as opposed to Frenchmen and Italians. This entirely new aspiration among the Germans had obtained a sovereign in Frederick the First, upon whom they looked with inspiration and who earnestly worked against the interests of particularism. From the time of Frederick, the change of view began to influence the course of German history. It seized laymen as well as the clergy. In Rainald of Cassel and Christian of Buch, who was made Archbishop of Mainz in 1167, also a former chancellor of Frederick, was manifested the joyful and energetic course of the Germany of that time. The entire episcopate was warlike and bore arms, but in the quiet monastery of Tegern See, near the Bavarian Alpine Lake in the valley, a nameless monk wrote the following Latin verses, in the year 1160:

“One must shed his blood, if the nation's honor is at stake. Manhood protects the hearth which no enemy can take. If justice is sold through cunning, one rebuys it through blood, for the benefit of the untouched beauty of the empire.”

All Frederick attempted to do in Italy was to fight for the supremacy of power. His imperial claim over the other nations seems to us to be a rather doubtful inheritance of former centuries. But Germany was wholly on his side. More freely than Frederick I, Henry II, Konrad II, and even Henry III, he ruled over the German princes and the allied nations. Frederick suffered worse defeats than all the others, but he controlled the souls of a nation which had become conscious of itself, which began to grow in political ideas and which saw in its supreme ruler no longer the monarch only, but one who influenced the feelings and the thoughts of the individual. It was the superb self-respect of the Germans as a people which surrounded Frederick's empire with the nimbus of the unsurpassed prosperity of the nation, and himself, a profoundly thoughtful politician, with a wisdom far above many a statesman,—in short, the ideal German ruler.

But around Alexander gathered all who feared the claims and acts of this new empire and Germany. Among them were Venice and the Greek emperor, Manuel, who discussed with Alexander the reunification of the Church which was planned frequently, yet never with perfect honesty. Rome, too, joined Frederick in 1164, and he triumphantly entered the city in the following year. When, towards the end of autumn, 1166, Frederick came

to Italy, he immediately set his face against the Greek-papal alliance. He besieged Ancona, which had opened its gates to the Greeks, while Archbishop Christian of Mainz, the ablest of his military leaders, marched towards Rome and, aided by Rainald and a fleet given by the inhabitants of Pisa, assailed Alexander anew. In July, 1167, after the capture of Ancona, Frederick appeared before Rome, and on the same day entered the city of St. Leo. Alexander fled across the Tiber bridge into the ruins of the Colosseum, and from thence to Terracina. Shortly after the city took the oath of allegiance Pope Paschal settled at Rome, adorned Frederick's head with the golden ring of the "Patricius," and on August 1, 1167, crowned Empress Beatrice in the Church of St. Peter.

But soon ominous mutterings were heard in the north of Italy. It appeared that the enforcement of the Roncalian decisions through the imperial officers angered the people much more than the decisions themselves. The officers acted according to the strict letter of the law when they took their booty from the people who went hunting and punished them for violation of an imperial law. As early as 1164, a confederacy of cities was brought about in the March of Verona, which entertained relations with Venice that sided with Alexander. And when on his advance through Lombardy against Ancona, at the opening of 1167, Frederick had no time to

listen to the complaints of the cities against the officers, the western towns also joined that confederacy, under the leadership of Cremona. In March, 1167, the Lombardic confederacy of cities was founded for mutual defensive purposes, and spread rapidly. In April, the inhabitants of Cremona, Brescia, and Bergamo led the inhabitants of Milan, from the four places where they had been told to reside, to the ruins of their city and soon the city began to rise from its ashes. Loyal towns, that is, ancient enemies of Milan like Lodi, were forced into the confederacy. All this took place while the emperor was attaining his triumph in the Romagna and at Rome.

Now a frightful misfortune befell him. A cloudburst, on August 2, followed by intensely hot weather, caused numerous diseases and deaths in the German camp, which was in the Roman Campagna, where the climate was malarious. The epidemic became so fatal that the emperor was forced, on August 5, to break up camp. The soldiers who could be transported were taken along, but the sickness raged with appalling virulence. Nine bishops died on the way, including Rainald of Cassel. Among the laymen were the young Frederick of Rothenburg in Suabia, and Welf the Sixth's son and heir, who bore his father's name. Of Suabians, Franks, and Rhinelanders, 2000 knights died. The entire loss was estimated at about 20,000. The



Lombardic confederacy, as if believing that the invaders had been smitten by divine judgment, closed the Apennines to the stricken army. With immense difficulty and prostrating toil they pushed through endless showers of arrows. Two shields had to be held above the head of Empress Beatrice. Finally, in the middle of September, they reached the loyal city of Pavia, but the Alpine passes were closed. Frederick remained in Lombardy and outlawed the cities of the confederacy. In March, 1168, he crossed the Mt. Cenis, and his staggering army came to Burgundy and Germany.

Although the emperor and many others mourned the death of the incomparable Rainald of Cassel, his death brought no change in the imperial policy. Rainald had always carried out Frederick's will thoughtfully and with unswerving loyalty. Philip of Heinsberg now became Archbishop of Cologne and, like Rainald, was promoted to Archbishop and Arch-chancellor from simple chancellor. The death of the young Welf induced his childless father, Welf VI, an old reprobate who contracted endless debts, to offer to the emperor all his Italian feuds, Spoleto, Tuscia and the Mathildian estate, including his Italian allodium, in return for an annuity. The allodium of the Welfs in Southern Germany was given to Henry the Lion. But he, thinking he would inherit all the estates, persuaded Frederick to obtain the property of Welf also for a certain amount. The

death of Frederick's young nephew of Suabia voided this duchy, which the emperor gave to his own son Frederick, a child of a few years. With regard to his second son, Henry, he was chosen by the princes, in 1109, as the future king and successor to the throne. (They preferred him, perhaps, because the Duchy of Suabia thus remained separated from the empire.) When, in 1173, Wladislav of Bohemia resigned, Sobeslav succeeded him.

But the Lombardic opponents grew strong enough to include thirty-six cities. They drove out the imperial officers, who were closely allied with Alexander and, in 1168, erected a well-situated fortress on the Tonaro which was called Alessandria, in honor of the pope. After futile diplomatic attempts by Frederick to separate the pope from the Lombards, he led a new army, consisting mainly of knights from the ecclesiastical principalities, across the Mont Cenis, in the fall of 1174. On the march he punished Susa, where an attempt had been made to kill him. But the forts of Alessandria, jocosely called "straw city," delayed him. In April, 1175, he had to give up the futile siege and began to negotiate. The majority of the confederacy led by Milan pronounced his offers impossible. The issue was once more left to the sword. Frederick could get reënforcements from Germany since, by crossing the Como, he would control the Alpine passes,

St. Gotthard, Splügen and Septimer. Naturally the most powerful duke, Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, refused the aid which Frederick demanded at a personal meeting. This scene was later beautifully dramatized. It is less likely that the meeting took place at Partenkirchen in Bavaria than at Chiavenna, at the foot of the Septimer Pass. In the spring of 1176, a decisive battle was fought. Archbishop Christian of Mainz, who had operated successfully in Middle Italy for years, led his armies northward to meet the emperor, who advanced from the Lago di Como. The Lombards strove to prevent this union. Near Lugano, halfway between the Alps and Milan, they met the army of the emperor, May 29, 1176, and defeated it decisively.

Frederick's pride began the battle, despite the superior forces of his opponents and the many voices which advised him to retreat to the safe Como. The battle, after it developed, represented the impetuous onslaught of the German knights upon the phalanxes of the Lombardic infantry. In vain were the attacks of the cavalry, and horses fell in great numbers. During the confusion, the Lombards suddenly advanced with fierceness, spurred on by the rumor that the emperor had been killed. Finally the Germans fled in different directions, closely pursued by the enemy, and many were drowned in the Tessino. The emperor with a part

of his army reached Pavia after several days. The open battle was lost, and the prestige of the German army destroyed,—an event with perhaps worse results than could be foreseen.

Frederick soon decided that even if it would cost him heavier sacrifices to gain Pope Alexander, he would deprive the Lombards of their intellectual leader and a means of further alliances. Negotiations led to the emperor's acknowledgment of Pope Alexander, (instead of Callixtus, who had succeeded Paschal in 1168). Frederick also promised no longer to participate in papal elections, or to re-establish the conditions under Innocent II regarding the Mathildian estate and regalia in the papal dominion. The pope, on the other hand, acknowledged the German bishops nominated in the course of the schism. Thereupon Venice, the old friend of Alexander, was chosen to be the place of a congress for peace. This was attended by Normans as well as Lombards, of course with some hesitation on the part of the latter. Here, July 22, 1177, the treaty was concluded and published. It was a perfect peace only as far as the Church was concerned. The emperor was freed from excommunication and the preliminary treaty was ratified, but the Mathildian estates were to remain with the emperor for a period of fifteen years. An armistice with the Lombards for six years was agreed upon. Thus this cessation of war represented, after all, quite a

significant success for Frederick, both as regarded the pope and the Lombardic cities.

Towards the end of the congress Frederick resided at Chioggia, which lies south of the great lagoon of Venice, and on account of the curiosity of the Venetian people to see the famous ruler in their own city, he compelled the pope to conclude peace. The following day, the doge, the Venetian local patriarch of Grado and other persons of note went to meet him. On Sunday, July 24, he landed at the Piazzetta which connects the large St. Mark's Place, the Piazza St. Marco, with the mouth of the Canale Grande. Beautiful flags were run up and all Venice was joyful. Before the magic name of emperor and especially this one, the personality of the supreme sovereign of the Church was obscured, even in this city which had no liking for a monarchy. The emperor walked along the crowded Piazzetta and reached the Dome of St. Mark, where the multitude were awaiting him. He took off his cape and bowed before Alexander; the latter asked him to rise, and offered the kiss of peace. The assembled crowd began a mighty, resounding *Te Deum*. Then the emperor led the pope into the dome and obtained a blessing from him. After this solemn ceremony the emperor made his home in the doge's palace, the pope in that of the patriarch. The following day, Frederick rendered the customary service of a marshal, holding the buckle for the pope after the

ceremony in the dome was over. The pope prevented him from seizing the reins in order to lead the horse. Peace was publicly announced on August 1, and until the second half of the month, the reconciled heads of Christianity resided at Venice,—a fact which will never be forgotten and has given rise to many a beautiful legend.

The treaty of Venice and the admiration roused toward the emperor enabled Frederick to work freely for the succeeding few years. His governors in Italy were not opposed by anyone; Christian of Mainz was his personal representative there; for six years he regulated all differences with the cities. This time was devoted to Germany and to the punishment of his old friend, Henry the Lion.

It is not exaggeration if we call Henry an independent king or emperor in a separated half of the empire. Only for his sake the emperor came to Saxony and Bavaria, or issued edicts there. Usually this was left to the Welf, and Frederick's entire activity was in the west of Germany, in Burgundy and Italy. Even the western Alpine passes grew more important for the imperial journeys than the Bavarian Brenner which formerly had been used. Upon the election of bishops in Saxony, the emperor exerted no influence, or at most it was very slight. The history of the empire developed almost entirely without the Welf. The emperor walked his own way; whenever his business permitted him, he

traveled as a splendid pilgrim into the Orient (1172), and the worldly legends speak of this pilgrimage as that of a great king.

The art of ruling and reigning in Germany included collecting, increasing and turning to account the power of the knighthood, and making the most of ruled cities. The Hohenstaufens were directed to the former through their own territorial position in knightly Suabia and Franconia, and through their alliance with ecclesiastical princes who had control over numerous ministers. The bishops, on the other hand, had to deal with the opposing cities, which upon the whole were the most important places in the empire. Therefore, Frederick sought amends in the Italian cities, outside of Germany.

Of the other two great houses, the Zähringians were early and industrious founders and furtherers of cities in Suabia and Burgundy. Disregarding a few less important market places and cities, they had founded as early as 1000 the market place Villingen, in the Black Forest. In 1098, they obtained the great Suabian Zurich; in 1120, they founded Freiburg in Breisgau; in 1176, Freiburg in Burgundy, and in 1191, Berne. Henry the Lion pursued a similar policy. His power was not based upon the alliance with internal princes and bishops; he controlled only such in Slavic lands. In Bavaria, from which Carontania and New Austria were separated and which extended from the Fichtelge-

birge to the Pass of Verona and the Lago di Gardo, and from the Lech to the Ems, Regensburg was the old capital and ducal residence. Henry founded Munich as his residence, whereas at Regensburg a royal count and a bishop made their home. The former was to surpass all Bavarian episcopal cities.

The commercial roads from Salzburg to the Suabian Augsburg, the salt of Reichenhall being the most important product, no longer corresponded to the old Noric-Rætian Roman road from Juvavum to Augusta Vindelicorum, but led across the Iser near Oberfoehring, which supported the Bishopric of Freising and a custom house belonging thereto. Henry destroyed the episcopal bridge across the Iser soon after he had obtained the Duchy of Bavaria, and erected a new bridge and market place upon his ducal estate, which was called Munich because of its former possessors, who were the monks of Tegern See. The royal court decided against the complaining bishop and in favor of the duke, who was the emperor's personal friend. Thus was founded the flourishing city of Munich. The popular name of the city, "Salzstosser," is not wholly forgotten, and the oldest aristocratic families of Munich adorn their coat-of-arms with all sorts of salt boxes.

In Saxony, too, the princes, including the previous assistants of the duchy, felt the cruel disregard of the almost sovereign Welf. The emperor



took possession of a number of counties, closed the salt-works of Oldesloe, in the territory of Adolf of Holstein, in order to free his own which were in Lüneburg from the former's competition. And since Lübeck diverted the commerce from ducal Bardewik, Henry did not rest until he obtained that city from the count (1157). Soon afterwards (1163), he removed the Wagric bishopric of Oldenburg, which he controlled as a duke, to Lübeck, after having secured the judicial power, tolls and other incomes. He also obtained the one in Bremen—a supplinburgian inheritance of the Welfs. Since Goslar, the great and important silver city, had remained royal property, he furthered his inherited city of Braunschweig, fortified it and erected Dankwarderode the "Rug-column," with the famous iron lion, on the Platz in front of his palace. Then he began to build the dome and the church of St. Catherine, and erected a residence for himself statelier than any which other duchies ever possessed.

Lübeck flourished under his rule, as the ducal power protected the city and its commerce against Obotritic and other pirates. For this reason, Henry had entered into an agreement with the Danish king, Waldemar I. This treaty caused an insurrection among the Wends. When, in 1159, Henry went to Italy, they again ravaged the Danish Isles. He summoned them before him on his return, but

Niclot and the other chiefs refused to come. Henry outlawed them and proceeded against Mecklenburg (of today). Niclot himself destroyed his strongholds Dobin, Iloy and Mecklenburg. The last was situated between Wisinar and the Lake of Schwerin, and can still be seen. He held only Werle on the Warnow. There he fell in 1160, and the resistance of the Wends was broken. King Walde-mar I (1157-1182) the Great, as Danish history calls him, undertook an expedition against the Danes on the island of Ringen.

With this year, 1160, began the real German and Christian history of Mecklenburg. Henry the Valiant, and Gunzelin of Hagen, were made Counts of Schwerin, and ducal ministers henceforth resided in Niclot's castles. The formerly established Bishopric of Mecklenburg was removed to Schwerin, as the third ducal and Wendic bishopric in addition to Lübeck and Ratzeburg. In 1167, Henry returned to Niclot's son, Pribislaw, all his former Obotritic possessions except the new county of Schwerin. The civil war in Saxony forced him to take this step. The former remained a loyal and Christian vassal, founded the monastery of Doberan, and accompanied Henry in 1172 on his pilgrimage to the Orient. To the fertile and, at first, thinly settled country many colonists from Flanders and Westphalia emigrated and thus started its Germanization. Opposite Rostock, the ancient

castle of the Cessinians,, a German market place by the same name was soon founded, and it prospered.

While the duke was occupied with Danish and Wendic affairs, the general discontent led to an alliance between the worldly and the ecclesiastical princes of Saxony; the Archbishop of Magdeburg and Bremen, the bishops of Hildesheim, Halberstadt and Lübeck, the margraves Albrecht the Bear of Brandenburg, Otto of Meissen, the Saxon palsgrave Louis the Iron, of Thuringia, many Westphalian counts and Rainald of Cassel. The last, however, stayed in Italy but, as a Saxon and as Metropolitan of Saxon bishoprics, he not only was opposed to Henry, but was the leader of the whole enterprise. All those named above joined in the conspiracy. Rainald expected that Frederick would be satisfied with the overthrow of the Welf. This civil war in Saxony was stopped by the emperor, who had returned from Italy (1168) and, after his coronation at Rome and its influence upon the Lombards, needed the friendship of the Welf. At this time, Frederick opened negotiations with them and, in 1170, made the Obotritic vassal of Henry an independent prince. The duke, on the other hand, could not be persuaded to accompany the emperor to Italy, nor could he be induced to delay his pilgrimage.

After the peace of Verona, Frederick began to oppose the duke. It was difficult even for the

contemporaries to ascertain how much personal enmity existed between them, or how much the crown was interested in overthrowing the mighty prince. Henry's humiliation was readily brought about through the aid of his numerous enemies, with whom he again was in a state of war. Frederick pretended that he did not participate in the action against the duke, and Henry naturally believed he could complain against his opponents. In 1178, therefore, he went to Speyer to meet the emperor. But, when summoned before the court to account for his violation of public peace, he appeared neither at Worms (1179) nor at Magdeburg, nor at the castle of Coina near Altenburg. Only after the trial at Magdeburg did Frederick make common cause with the accusers. At Coina he demanded a verdict because of Henry's being absent three times. Still he permitted the duke to appear at court once more at Wurzburg, in the middle of January, 1180. Here the decision was made against him according to the law of Suabia, by his own Suabian fellow-countrymen, for violation of public peace, and for not appearing before the emperor when ordered to do so. Everything went on smoothly and the refusal to render military service was not considered at all. The accusations sufficed, in accordance with feudal laws, to deprive Henry of his imperial feuds, and of his personal property and ecclesiastical feuds, agreeably to the country laws. In April, 1180, the

parliament of Geluhausen decided regarding Saxony, as had been done in Bavaria previously, and the large duchy was dismembered. The ducal power in the dioceses of Cologne and Pardeborn was bestowed upon the Archbishop of Cologne, the Palatinate was united with the landgraviate of Thuringia, a number of margraves and counts including Lübeck became independent, and the remaining Eastphalian part of the duchy was conferred upon the Asconian Bernard, the younger son of Albrecht the Bear, who had died in the year 1170. The elder son Otto inherited the margraviate of his father.

The Lion savagely resisted; he vexed Goslar, and destroyed the imperial cities Nordhausen and Miehhausen; defeated the Asconian and the Thuringian landgrave, Louis III, near Weissen See. The latter (1172-90) was taken prisoner. In the beginning of August, Frederick appeared and, by promising amnesty to the allies of Henry if they would yield, he proved himself more skillful in negotiation than in fighting. When Duke Henry noticed that his position in inner Saxony would be lost after November 11, he withdrew into the region near Lübeck.

Meanwhile, in September, 1180, Frederick made his decision regarding Bavaria, at Altenburg. The former palgrave Otto of Wittelsbach obtained the duchy. The margraves of Steyer (Styria) became independent dukes; the counts of Andex, with their

large estates in Bavaria, Tyrol' and Istria, became independent dukes of Meran.

The ducal title had wholly lost its connection with the ancient tribes and had become a higher princely title. At the same time, the idea prevailed to consider no longer the numerous counts and princes (principes), but only the "prince" of the Wends, the palsgrave of the Rhine, the margraves of Brandenburg and Meissen, the landgrave of Thuringia, who was Saxon palsgrave, the independent, imperial Count of Aubalt, and the bishops, dukes and imperial abbots. Thus the worldly imperial princes assumed an entirely new character, and the non-hereditary ecclesiastical princes were brought to the fore.

In 1181, the emperor pursued his opponent into the latter's North-Albingian refuge, and after the ancient commercial city of Bardewik had surrendered, he appeared before Lübeck. In front of the gates, he made Bogislaw, Henry's Pomeranian vassal, independent, Henry had fled to Stade; and on his advice the besieged town surrendered. It thus became an imperial city risen from a ducal country town. Henry's case was brought to an end. He sent envoys to the emperor, and in November, 1181, threw himself at his feet in the city of Erfurt, whither he had been summoned. Frederick lifted up the fallen man, and kissed him. The princely court was to pass the decision. The Welf was exiled, a

sentence which the emperor could change only after three years, and his Welfish-Saxon estates near Brunswick and Lüneburg were returned to him. Henry went to Normandy to King Henry II of England, whose daughter Mathilda he had married in 1167, after he had divorced the Zähringian Clementia.

After the overthrow of Henry the Lion, peace was concluded with the Lombards at Constance, in June, 1183. The supremacy of the emperor, his court and his forum was recognized. The municipal officers were to be taken from the vassals of the emperor, all citizens between the ages of seventeen and seventy were required to take the oath of allegiance every ten years, the Lowlands and the castles thereon were to be controlled by the emperor. The cities, however, received all privileges within their own walls, and thus became independent members of the state. They obtained also the regalia within the cities and the territory that belonged to them, but had to pay 2,000 marks of silver annually (about \$150,000), which sum was sometimes reduced. This enabled the cities to rent dubious regalia. The Roncalian Decisions as a whole were set aside and the dignity of the empire in Italy was reestablished, with the income much larger than before. The actual victories won through fate, rather than through fighting, were celebrated by the "Schwertleite" (sword-festival) of the emperor's sons Fred-

erick and Henry, at Mainz, on Whitsuntide, 1184. It was one of the most splendid national celebrations.

A thing like this could not have taken place previously, because only for a short time had there been a middle class of laymen, whose former rustic simplicity was radically changed. Other centers for the stormy life of the nobility and knighthood could not exist save through the courts, and above all the imperial court. The "equestrian order," an alliance of all knightly classes from the princes down to the ministers, originated in the Hohenstaufen House as a part, it may be said, of its unwritten constitution and conceptions. There were conviviality, merry-making, play of weapons, games, jousts, and noble ladies graciously acknowledging the homage paid them; there were minstrels and poets at the courts, and one hears of heroic adventures and tales, where the valiant contestants were honored and obtained feuds and gifts, not forgetting the great "Market of Vanity," where all those who had taken part vied with one another in splendor of horses and armor, and in the multitude of richly dressed servitors.

Already, during the negotiations at Constance, Emperor Frederick had invited the empire to the "Schwertleite." And when, in the year 1184, the time set for the festival drew near, almost all the imperial princes entered the festive city, between Mainz and the Taunus, in the beautiful Rhine val-



ley:—The Dukes of Suabia, of Zähringia, of Bavaria, of Austria, of Bohemia (the last brought 2,000 horsemen), the Ascanian of Saxony, those of Upper and Lower Lótharingia, the Palsgrave Konrad, the aged Welf, the margraves, the archbishops and bishops of German tongue, those also of Besançon, Verdun and Toul, and finally the Burgundian uncle of Empress Beatrice. The Count of Hennegan displayed the most impressive splendor, because of which he was honored with the privilege of carrying the emperor's sword. The number of knights present was fully 70,000.

In addition to all these there were many traveling minstrels, among them Henry of Veldeke, from the region near the Maas, the author of the "Eneit." The famous Frenchmen included Doetes of Troyes and Guiot of Truins, the latter credited by the Germans with being the author of "Parsifal." There were also wandering gleemen, jesters both men and women, and many thousand spectators from along the Rhine. They gathered around the imperial castle, the church, and the festive pavilion. Accidents were quite inevitable. A violent wind overthrew the church and several wooden buildings, and caused the death of fifteen persons. The most startling incident was the sudden appearance of a man, in the midst of the jollity, vehemently demanding protection and shelter, and to be among Germans. He was Henry the Lion. He had not come to share

in the emperor's festival, and without having achieved anything, went back to the foreign land whence he had come.

On Whitsuntide, May 20, the emperor and empress wore their crowns. The following day, Monday, the young duke and his brother, King Henry, were girt with the sword and took the oath of knighthood. In the subsequent tournaments, 20,000 knights and the emperor himself bore parts. On Wednesday the break-up began, but the carousing and feasting lasted for several days.

The grandeur of this empire greatly impressed all. No such splendor had been seen since the days of Alexander the Great and King Artus. Henry of Veldeke's poem was nearly completed, but a Thuringian stole it while he was attending the wedding of the Countess of Kleve, with the landgrave of Thuringia. Later, Henry recovered the manuscript. "For a hundred years," he said, "people will speak of and write about that great and splendid festival."

Success followed success. Though Frederick had to renounce his monarchic dominion and financial authority over Lombardy, he obtained them in Lower Italy. William II, king of the Normans, had no children and only one legal relative in Constance, a daughter of King Roger I. She was his father's sister, and thirty years old, eleven years the senior of King Henry. The emperor became the suitor for his son, and he again crossed the Alps, in splendor

and glory. This ended all resistance of the Normans and the complaints of the new Pope Lucius III. The engagement was celebrated in October, 1184. In the following year, 150 chargers carried Constance's bridal treasure to the north while she came to Milan, which had asked that the wedding should be celebrated within its walls. This city was ardently loyal toward Frederick and strove to surpass the Germans and their festival at Mainz. The middle of the celebration was the 27th of January. On that day the marriage was blessed in the church of St. Ambrogio, and Henry was crowned as king of Italy, by the patriarch of Aquileja (1186). Frederick conferred on his son, without aid of the pope, the title "Cæsar."

Contemporary accounts make the wedding feast at Milan more magnificent than the festival of Mainz. Lower Italy was won, and the papal power reduced. The entire peninsula obeyed the German ruler, the Occidental leader of all other princes:—the actuality was beyond compare. While Frederick renewed the title of Cæsar, the scholarship of German clergymen was reminded of the Ostrogoth Dietrich of Berne. With him whom the Lay of the Nibelungs and the epics of chivalry brought the most famous chronicler of the time into a closer relationship with the Germans, Monk Otto of St. Blasien compared the great Emperor Frederick. And the Zähringian duke, Berthold V, remembered that it was his house

which had possessed as feud the margraviate of Verona, known to the Germans only as Berne. Consequently, he gave that name to the next German city which he founded in the Burgundic-Transjuran government, near the Aar (1191). The chivalrous young lord was himself a promoter of epic poetry.

After a long interval, the old enemies of the empire met again. Pope Urban III (1185-87), from the family of Crivelli of Milan, renewed his activities. He moved against the ecclesiastical estates of the laymen, and the rights of regalia and spolia. From the old conception of the Church as the mistress of imperial domains, the attitude was assumed that all estates of ecclesiastical princes should belong to the crown (spolia), and that during a vacancy in the ecclesiastical dioceses, the regalia should also be the property of the Church. The traditional value of these two rights was much increased by Frederick. It was profitable to resume hostilities against the empire because of these rights. In Germany, Frederick was freed from his old enemy Henry, but in the emperor's former chancellor and loyal assistant, the Archbishop Philip of Cologne, a new Rhenish-Westphalian Henry seemed to arise.

Because of his Westphalian office, he called himself Archduke, *archidux*, enlarged the estate of Cologne through diligent buying from Rhenish

counts and lords, and made his knights numerous and dignified, while at the same time the prestige of Cologne was heightened through the commerce and navigation along the Rhine and to England, as well as through the international dignity of the Three Holy Kings. The old Westphalian city of Toest was also increased in importance because of the emigration of the Westphalians to the lands of the Wends. The imperial domains lay scattered throughout the archbishopric like islands, one of them being Kaiserswert, where Emperor Frederick had just finished a new castle (1184).

Philip was willing to become the papal legate against the empire, and took more hostile steps. At the imperial diet at Geluhausen, towards the end of November, 1186, all ecclesiastical princes displayed their loyalty and made complaint against the pope himself. In 1187, Frederick led an army toward the Moselle, under the pretext of observing the Anglo-French War that had just broken out. Cologne fortified its gates and walls, and Philip destroyed the bridge across the Moselle. The emperor closed navigation on the Rhine and summoned Philip before the diet, but he did not obey. Suddenly the hostilities were brought to an end. In the far-off Orient, on the Mountain Hattin, Sultan Saladin overthrew the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the blood of the slain knights brought peace to the Occident, the empire and the Church, also to the

emperor and the archbishop, as well as to the warring kings of England and France.

The history of events preceding Saladin's victory goes back to the second Crusade of Konrad III and Louis VII of France, which started for the Holy Land in 1147, and miserably failed before Damascus. The Fatimites of Egypt, who were opposed to the Asiatic-Mohammedan states, joined Saladin (one of the most knightly characters in history). After the death of Nureddin, he became independent ruler of Damascus and the northern emirates. He assumed the title of sultan, which corresponds to our term "majesty." Thus, since he had no powerful opponents to fear, either in Africa or in Syria and Mesopotamia, he turned against the Franks, who had given him much trouble. On July 4, 1187, he destroyed the knights of the kingdom, near the Lake Genezareth on the Karn Hattin, the traditional mountain where the "Sermon" was preached. During the following few weeks he conquered all fortified places on the coast, and the city of Jerusalem, a city also sacred to Islam. Only Tyre was defended most valiantly, by Margrave Konrad of Montferrat. The king of Jerusalem was captured. He was set free after some time, but opened hostilities anew against Saladin and attempted to reconquer Acre, which became the aim of the whole Crusade.

Emperor Frederick had already taken part in the

Second Crusade. More than the call of the new Pope Gregory VIII (1187), the supremacy that vanquished all his enemies appealed to him. On Sunday, "Lætare Jerusalem," March 27, 1188, he opened the great meeting at Mainz which was called the "Diet of Christ." Corresponding to the knightly-romantic imagination, Frederick seated himself at the foot of the throne where the Saviour himself was believed to be enthroned. The time for the Third Crusade was set for April 23, 1189. Only able-bodied men provided with sufficient means were to be admitted. The participants in the first two Crusades included many who were weak and inefficient. Through embassies to Hungary, Servia, Constantinople and Iconium in Asia Minor (whose emir Kildish Arslan was, through fear of Saladin, one of the sincerest friends of Frederick), the Crusade was made ready. In chivalrous fashion, the emperor declared war upon Saladin by breaking off all diplomatic relations with him. He left his son Henry to govern in his absence. The army set out from Regensburg in the spring of 1189, following the ancient road along the Danube. Inhabitants of Bremen, Cologne, other Saxons, and people settled near the lower Thine and at Vlaernes, went on ships through the Spanish Sea. They aided the Portuguese king against the Moors, and reached Acre by way of the Mediterranean. The Crusades were a matter of duty with the knights rather than of

enthusiasm. With admiration, the nations looked upon the aged hero who, when nearly three-score and ten, renounced "all joys and comfort of his home" and set out for the Orient.

Highly honored by Hungarians, Servians and Walachs, the emperor landed upon Greek soil. The army reached Asia Minor, where Kilidsch Arslan had assured them of a friendly reception, by way of Sardes. The old emir, however, had abdicated, and his sons were fascinated by the charm, personality and glory of the matchless Saladin, who had conquered almost the whole Mohammedan world. The alien environment where the Germans had anxiously beheld the nomads with their dark tents and their red caps grew more and more repellent; many left the place; the Germans began to lack food; horses were killed and eaten, but were less than the army needed; there were constant battles and attacks; and when after many hardships they reached Ikonium, the lord of the city refused to admit them except on payment of an immense sum. The indignant emperor determined that their swords, instead of gold, should serve as the key. The weak army was ordered to storm the powerfully fortified city. Young Frederick of Suabia smashed one gate and became the hero of that glorious day. Kudbeddin, lord of the city, bowed to the inevitable and his father was appointed to mediate. After buying many horses, mules and



sufficient food supplies, the Crusaders resumed their march.

One day they beheld Christian crosses: Armenia had been reached. Here Leo II was leader, a man well versed in Occidental culture and a diligent disciple thereof. He greeted Frederick at the bridge across the Salef, the ancient Calycaduns and modern Göksu, and the emperor promised him the royal crown. Thus the Hohenstaufen, outside the Occidental Roman-German imperium, acted in the name of the Christian supreme lord. Leo himself awaited the emperor in Selencia.

Thither marched the army along the Salef. Since the stream was not accompanied by any artificial road, the soldiers were compelled to toil around the precipices above the river, whereby much baggage was lost. Others, including the emperor, attempted to cross by swimming. In the attempt Frederick was drowned, about June 10, 1190. We shall never know the details. Many hold that he succeeded in reaching the further bank, had supped towards evening, and while bathing in the stream, suddenly expired. The army had just come down into a valley when it was shocked by the tidings. The Saracens were vastly relieved, for they held the emperor in particular fear.

The Crusaders resumed their march, taking with them the dead body of their sovereign. The valiant Frederick of Suabia became their leader. At Tarsus

they buried the emperor's heart and entrails, at Antioch his flesh, and finally at Tarsus his bones. His faithful son was not destined to bring the body either to Jerusalem or to his home.

Emperor Frederick II has been depicted by historians as a more human individuality than the rulers of the preceding centuries. But these annalists and chroniclers are influenced by the changed times; they rejoice in strong manly personality, and love to depict such natures. Among these was Otto of Freising, who could describe only the early years of Frederick, through the material which the emperor himself had given him. Since the days of Bishop Liutprand of Cremona, who recorded a part of the reign of Otto the Great, we find for the first time historians who see and perceive human beings as they were. We also gain some of the authoritative, personal utterances of Frederick, whereas the predecessors were silent. His relation to the Church, too, we ascertain from the provost Gerboh of Reichersbeig, a Bavarian publisher and very pious man, who was frequently consulted by the emperor. Gerboh tells us the ruler had expressly said he would be content with his right and he would assist a Roman pope who would not try to diminish it, but he would fight with all his energies against a pope who would attempt to diminish the right of a worldly lord. This almost modern attitude of an honest division of the powers, which a Bernard of

Clairveaux would have considered an unheard of thing, characterized Frederick's entire reign. Raimond of Cassel was the only sturdy champion of this point of view, which was maintained later on.

Frederick was by no means a man of mere amiable, benevolent and romantic qualities, as might seem indicated above. Those traits cannot suffice for a great ruler. His aims were lofty and practical. Charlemagne was his model. He frequently referred to him, and took care that the castles of Charlemagne at Ingelheim and Nymwegen should be reconstructed, and that Aachen should be adorned as befitted an imperial city. But while trying to imitate, he well knew that the means and necessities of his time were at variance with those of the Carolingian period. Personally, Frederick resembled Karl, who was a plain matter-of-fact man. He, too, could display the splendor of the empire and the imperial court, wherever it was advisable to arouse the admiration of foreign lands, in order to increase the loyalty of princely contemporaries who rejoice in festivals, and to charm the show-loving masses. One could truly say that Archbishop Christian of Mainz spent more upon horses and women than the emperor did for his entire court. Frederick was honorable, manly and revered laws and justice. "His court was, if not open for bribery, at least willing to accept for gold and estate those who

would carry on their affairs there," says one of the most conscientious investigators and historians.

Everything regarding the name and authority of the "Roman Empire" that hitherto has been obscure and chaotic was changed to firmly established laws and concessions. He clearly distinguished all this in Italy, and established lawful organizations. In Burgundy, he brought the empire to great dignity by rendering himself, through the marriage of Beatrice, one of the most powerful of magnates. In Germany, he had come to the throne in a period of decentralization of all imperial rights. The crown had for a long time ceased to be omnipotent; its military and financial rights had been under control of dukes and princes; important imperial decisions required the sanction and aid of the princes. As a consequence, all the more important actions of Frederick were indicated by the dates when the court convened. But the power of the worldly princes rested not only on the crown, but on the bishops and imperial abbots. By winning these for himself and conferring ecclesiastical offices on his loyal men, by raising the prestige of the knights, and by relying upon the ministers of the empire and of the Hohenstaufen estates, and upon the ecclesiastical princes, the emperor diminished the power of the worldly princes. He succeeded in reducing and overthrowing large duchies, to give to the more

reliable bishops and imperial abbots the majority in the diet, and finally he set aside the bi-partition of the empire through the overthrow of Henry the Lion. Without that struggle between the cousins Germany would have had two empires, a west southern, with a sphere of interest in Burgundy and Italy, and a northeastern with interests in the north and the Slavic regions. It has recently been held that if Henry the Lion had become German emperor, the empire would have had a national policy instead of the "fatal imperial dreams" of the Hohenstaufens. Henry's son, Emperor Otto IV, and his whole policy after 1208, are sufficient proof of it. On account of the dualism, and because the Hohenstaufens strove to get away from the south, where the Welfs still had large estates, they brought about many marked German conquests in the north. But the fact that those conquests benefited the empire and the nation, instead of the Saxons' idea of particularism, was a result of the crisis and severe judgment of 1180. Thus the last decade of Frederick's reign aroused in his people a feeling of unsurpassed imperial splendor and strength, of incomparable growth of all national powers and aims. At this height of his ambition, the venerable emperor met his impressive death, which saved him from the bitter disappointments of the Crusaders. He felt secure in the hope of coming heroic deeds of the German sword and the spread of universal empire,

and was certain that he had provided well for its mighty future.

Frederick Barbarossa was succeeded by his son Henry VI (1190-97). Through his marriage Henry extended his dominion over the kingdom of Southern Italy and made preparations for the conquest of the Holy Land. He was a cruel, unpopular ruler whose "o'erleaping ambition" was to become a second Alexander and to found a world empire. Before he could carry out the beginnings of his astounding scheme, he died at Messina in 1197.

Henry left a male infant, who was educated by Innocent III and was the legal heir to the throne, but the people had tired of being governed by children and elected Philip IV as their emperor. He was the Duke of Suabia and the only surviving son of Barbarossa. Because of his mild disposition, he was known as "The Gentle."

Otto of Saxony, son of Henry the Lion and the leader of the Welfs, secured a sort of election and made so many promises to Innocent III, who claimed the right of choosing between the two candidates, that the pope named him as the successor. But Philip, throwing aside his reputation for gentleness, vigorously assailed his contestant, and drove him out of the country. The next step of Philip was to forget all his pledges to the pope and to fight him resolutely. What the result might have been

we cannot tell, for he was killed in a private quarrel, his reign having lasted from 1197 to 1208.

This crime brought back Otto's opportunity and he ascended the throne in the same year of Philip's death. Having sworn to serve as a vassal of the pope he, too, cast aside his pledges and became so defiant in his attitude toward the pontiff that he was excommunicated in 1210. Innocent called on the German princes to declare Otto deposed and to elect the youthful Frederick, son of Henry VI, in his place. This was done in 1214, and Germany thus gained as her emperor one of the most marvelous men that ever lived.

## CHAPTER XXII

### FREDERICK II—END OF THE HOHEN- STAUFEN LINE

"**H**IS countenance was of amiable beauty, with a serene forehead and brightly beaming eyes, so that it was a pleasure to behold him." Thus was described the thirteen-year-old boy, and the literary pictures of his later reign fully agree with the portrait.

The type of Barbarossa seemed to have returned in Frederick II more truly than in the pale Henry VI, as regarded both his stature and his red-blond hair. Like his father, he wore no whiskers. He was fond of exercise and sport. His favorite companions were horses, dogs and falcons. Similar to Louis XIV of France, who was brought up on similar circumstances, he believed more in them than in men. He spoke or understood Latin, Arabic, Greek, French, Provençal, and the Romance dialect of his South Italian home, out of which developed the "Italian" language. Whether he was familiar with German we do not know, but there is reason to doubt it, so that in this respect he resembled Charles V.





Dürrnstein Castle on the Danube.



The new king began to rule an empire whose best aids were separated from it. The German episcopate was wholly controlled by the hierarchic will of the papacy. Pope Innocent was quite justified in displaying the triumph of the Church at the great Lateran Council, held in November, 1215, where 71 archbishops, 412 bishops and about 800 other clergymen assembled. From Byzantium and the kingdom of Jerusalem the Latin patriarchs came who were controlled by Rome; the worldly kings and princes from Castilia to Syria sent their representatives. The lordship of the Church over the flock of Christ was so magnificently completed that even a Gregory VII or an Urban II did not doubt it. But despite all, one thing and that the most important was lost,—the absolute lordship over souls and thoughts. Because of the brilliant outer victory, the Church thought this could be easily acquired. The Lateran Council of 1215 established auricular confession, and the papal court founded the Inquisition against the heretics, for the sake of constant inquiry. The newly organized order of the Beggars became the bridge across which the spiritual lordship of the Church penetrated into the families. They were employed as officers of the courts of Inquisition.

Of public atheism we cannot speak, but there were many who were indifferent towards religion. Most widely spread were the Waldensians in south-

ern France, against whom the Church undertook "crusades" after 1209.

What of Frederick, upon whose reign was based the yearning of the Church concerning the heretics? Even Dante, destined to be the future supreme prophet of the overthrown empire which began to revive, did not believe it possible to save the shade of the last emperor from the tortures of hell. Against the living king the Church stood up as if he were a Saracen or heathen.

Much injustice was done Frederick, as, for instance by the well-known phrase concerning the three charlatans, the "*tribus impostoribus*" who had fooled the whole world:—Moses, Jesus and Mohammed. In late years, it has been found that this fancy was only a thesis written by a student at the University of Paris, which was refuted with all the subtleties of dialectics. None the less, we cannot defend the faith of the man whose ironical and doubting mind dreaded nothing, who was filled with an insatiable yearning for empirical insight into the world and things, for whom Mohammedan books on mathematics or natural sciences, and the ancient philosophy and natural history of Aristotle, were more interesting than all the apologetic theology of the Occident. With Arabian scholars, he discussed the immortality of the soul, out of which arose the story that he permitted a man to die in a hermetically closed barrel, to prove that no liber-

ated soul would come out of the barrel when opened.

Jacob Burckhardt has called Frederick II the first modern man on a throne. To Italy, and not to Germany, he belongs, and to the forerunners of the Renaissance, regarding his education, his personality, his interests and his bequests. He gave rise to the spiritual "tyrants" of the early Renaissance, who had gained power through the local feuds between Ghibellines and Guelfs.

Threatened by German, papal and Sicilian parties and wranglers from the beginning, Frederick had spent his boyhood in the midst of a godless court. When he grew older he was no longer accustomed to believe in altruism and fidelity, in action or desire without profit. Thus his nature grew radically agnostic, questioning and calculating over all subjects. The education of his time was thoroughly known to him. The island of Sicily was still inhabited by Saracens, who had withdrawn into the mountains before the Normans, but expanded into a more important factor during the turmoil of Frederick's youth. Besides this, the Norman kingdom had adopted many Oriental customs. The palaces, gardens and fountains of Palermo, as described by the people of the Occident, remind one of stories in "One Thousand and One Nights." The women of Palermo walked about like Saracens, wearing veils, while the mixture of Occidental and

Oriental art in the buildings of Sicily has its peculiar charm to this day. Through the commerce and the large number of merchants who visited the country, Frederick became acquainted with the Saracen and Levantine spirit, and with the Mohammedan-Arabic art, which was an adoption and continuation of the ancient and eastern Roman, whose Asio-African territories were subdued by Islam after the seventh century. Frederick's desire to learn, his anatomical studies and his physiological experiments gave rise to many stories about him, the most interesting of which is that he brought up infants among mute people in order to find out the original language of mankind.

Thus this crowned monarch stands upon a unique height in the midst of his time, in many respects like the Hohenzollern who bore the same name. His relation to women clearly showed his Oriental character. His wives were guarded by eunuchs, and most of them came from the coast of the Mediterranean, and were of Christian and Saracen faith. The blond Heinz (John) was his son by a noble German woman.

So much has been said of the personality of this marvelous man, that we must not lose sight of his achievements as a sovereign. He was only seventeen years old, when, at the request of Pope Innocent III, the German princes declared Otto IV deposed and elected Frederick in his place. His wit,

his eloquence and his manly beauty seemed to carry everything before him. He had only a few companions when he started for Germany in 1212. The Milanese would have turned him back, but his burning impassioned appeals, and his fiery valor cleared the path, and hundreds of those who started to attack him became his ardent supporters.

When Frederick passed through the Alps, he was disguised as a pilgrim and had only fifty-odd persons in his train. Otto with a strong force was waiting for him before the Suabian city of Constance. Although warned of the peril of doing so, Frederick entered the town with less than a dozen companions. The Suabians were so delighted by sight of a Hohenstaufen that they welcomed him with shouts and swung shut the city gates in the face of Otto. Finding he could not storm the town, he passed down the Rhine, pursued by Frederick, whose little army continually grew, while that of the fugitive dwindled, until he saw the uselessness of further resistance. Since the French king had become an ally of Frederick, Otto united with the Hollanders in an attack upon that country. In a battle with the French at Bouvines in 1214, Otto was overthrown and gave up the struggle. He made his way to his native domain of Brunswick, where he died in seclusion some years later.

Emperor Frederick, as seemed to be the fashion in those times, had promised the pope to go upon a

Crusade, but public matters kept him home year after year and Pope Innocent died. His successor was equally insistent that the Crusade should be carried out and Frederick, after being excommunicated, finally set his face toward the Holy Land.

This Crusade, which ranks as the fifth (1228-29), was a virtual continuation of the disastrous fourth. It has been said of Frederick that he was the only leader of such an enterprise who showed common sense. He landed at Acre in September, 1228, with a force of only 600 knights. He had become interested years before in the subtle knowledge of the Mohammedans and had delved deeply into their wells of information. He saw that it was utter folly to attempt the conquest of the country, and therefore proposed an agreement with the Moslem ruler at Jerusalem that the Holy City (excepting the site of the Temple, where stood the Mosque of Omar), Bethlehem and Nazareth should be turned over to the Christians.

This was done and the latter lived unmolested in Jerusalem until the irruption of the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. In making this agreement Frederick incensed Pope Gregory IX and the head of the Greek Church, both of whom condemned the act as a betrayal of the honor of the Church. The indignant pope raised an army to strip the emperor of his possessions in Palestine,



but the troops were scattered like chaff by the trained veterans of Frederick. The pope made the best of a trying situation, concluded peace with the emperor and removed the ban of excommunication.

“Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.”

The emperor cared naught for the enmity of the pope, and as we have shown he came out best in their quarrel. He loved Italy far more than Germany, and could he have done as he wished would have spent his life in the former country. He made his eldest son Henry regent of his northern domain, and the wretch repaid his parent for the honor shown him by heading a vicious rebellion against him. As soon as the news reached Frederick, he set out with a small escort and crossed the Alps in great haste. But he needed no armed force, for the first sight of him turned all his enemies into friends, and they rallied to his support from every quarter. Left without a follower, Henry was made prisoner. He threw himself on his knees before the emperor, who unhesitatingly forgave him. The next step of the miserable ingrate was to try to poison his father, who, feeling that it was hardly safe to keep up the rôle of the forgiving parent, thrust him into prison where he died a few years later.

It occurred to the emperor that since he was in Germany it would be appropriate to celebrate his third wedding. It cannot be said that he had made

a pronounced success with his marriages. When in his teens he was wedded to a princess of Aragon, but in the midst of the wedding festivities a virulent plague broke out in the city. The bride's brother rose from the banquet table, staggered to the door and dropped dead. Other guests were stricken, many dying before they could get out of the room. Frederick and his bride fled and hurried from the plague-smitten city.

The emperor's second wife died at the birth of her son Konrad, and now on his final wedding he took as his life partner the English princess Isbelle. The splendor and magnificence of the ceremony were beyond the power of description. The renowned poets of the day sang of its wonders at Worms. Picture a royal banquet at which seventy-five princes and twelve thousand knights took part. There were swarthy Saracens in the emperor's train, strange animals from foreign countries and treasures and jewels beyond compare.

This gorgeous celebration was followed by a diet held at Mainz. It may have been that some of the participants were dazed by the memory of that overwhelming display, for it looked as if the era of brotherhood and peace had come. An end to private war was proclaimed and a number of excellent reforms were declared in force. But the pledges did not ring true. The nobles had held authority too long to surrender it willingly. They

did not mean what they said and Frederick knew they did not, even though they escorted him to the Alps and uttered affectionate farewells. Bidding the emperor good-by, the nobles rode back home and resumed doing as they pleased.

As has been said, Frederick preferred Italy above Germany. He was too proud to lay aside his crown, though inclination led him to meditate doing so. His court at Sicily was the most celebrated in Europe. He gathered round him brilliant scholars, renowned poets and beautiful women. Among them all, he towered as their superior in wit, in scholarship and in manly beauty. None could match him in these respects, but it must be admitted at the same time that that wonderful court was tinged by a wickedness, the mere thought of which makes one shudder.

The Italian cities formed a powerful league against Frederick, and he had to choose between overthrowing them or being overthrown himself. His military training in Palestine had not been forgotten, and he had several thousand of fine troops in the Saracens whom he brought home with him. With their aid, he won a crushing victory at Cortenuovo in 1237. The cities were beaten so overwhelmingly that they gave the emperor no further trouble for the time.

Pope Gregory IX was a native of Campania and a near relative of Innocent III. In 1227, he suc-

ceeded as Pope Honorius III. It may be noted that his coronation, which lasted three days, surpassed in magnificence any similar ceremony that preceded it. He inherited the fight with Frederick II, and prosecuted it with untiring energy. He excommunicated him several times, and in 1229 levied a tithe on all movables in England to help pay the expenses of his war with the emperor. Glancing forward in history, we find he established a few years later the Inquisition in Toulouse and Carcassonne, and by his arrogant manner roused a revolt in Rome in 1234, and was driven from the city, to which he did not return for three years, finally dying at a very advanced age.

Enzio was the illegitimate son of Frederick, who idolized him. When the parent determined to make the young man king of Sardinia, Gregory opposed, claiming Sardinia as a papal fief. He stirred the Italian cities to revolt, and in 1241 summoned a convocation of the dignitaries of the Church to declare Frederick deposed. The pontiff believed that action by so imposing a tribunal would have greater weight than by him alone.

When most of the churchmen were on their way to Rome, the fleet which bore them was seized by Enzio and the council perforce "adjourned sine die." Gregory died a few months later and his successor, Innocent IV, hid from Rome to France, whither he called a council with which of course

Frederick could not interfere. This body once more excommunicated and declared him deposed.

"So I have been deposed," remarked the emperor scornfully; "bring hither my crowns that I may see which one is lost."

They were brought. They numbered seven, including the imperial diadem of Rome, the royal crown of Germany, the iron one of Lombardy (a portion of which according to legend was hammered from one of the nails in the cross upon which the Saviour died), and those of Sicily, Jerusalem, Sardinia and Burgundy. Frederick inspected each in turn and set them on his head one after the other. When he had removed the seventh, he grimly remarked:

"They are all here and much blood will be shed before one of them is taken from me."

His prophecy proved true. Frederick's eldest surviving son Konrad in Germany, and a faction of the princes and bishops, declared the emperor deposed, and elected Henry of Thuringia to succeed him. Henry was overthrown by Konrad, whereupon William, Count of Holland, was nominated for his place. Violence, bloodshed, anarchy and the end of all things seemed to have come. A chronicler quaintly remarks: "When the emperor was condemned by the Church, robbers made merry over their booty. Plowshares were beaten into swords, reaping hooks into lances. Men went every-

where with flint and steel, setting in a blaze whatsoever they found."

Enzio fought with the utmost bravery for his father and their joint cause, but misfortune marked him for its own. In Bologna, the citizens seized and made him prisoner. Frederick offered a princely ransom for him, but his captors would not consent. Only twenty-three years old and the equal of his father in mental gifts, he was kept in a dungeon for twenty-two years, when he succumbed and breathed his last.

The proud emperor sank in despair. Those upon whom he had counted fell away from him. To his consternation, he found that his chancellor, who had been his trusted friend for thirty years, was implicated in a plot to poison him. Only Sicily remained true. In his desperation, he sought to make peace with the Church. He offered to go on another Crusade and pledged himself never to return, but every offer he could make was sternly rejected. Seeing no hope anywhere, he set out to raise another army for the purpose of revenge, but before he could effect anything with it, he died in 1250.

With the death of Frederick II, the hour of doom for the Hohenstaufen dynasty struck. The twilight of that appalling night known in German history as the Interregnum was settling over the land, and we must now turn our attention to that woful period.

Since we have to tell of events that occurred dur-

ing the age of feudalism and chivalry, when knights were those who made history, and we shall have much to say about them, it is well to recall some of the peculiarities of an institution which passed away centuries ago and is now but a dream.

The word knight is from the Saxon *Cniht*, meaning a servant or attendant. They were originally men-at-arms, bound to the performance of certain duties, among which was the attendance of their feudal superior or sovereign on horseback, in time of war. To the enthusiasm which prompted the Crusades was due the religious character imparted to knighthood. The earliest Order was that of the Knights of St. John, or Hospitallers, who were founded about 1048 in a hospital built in Jerusalem, by some merchants of Amalfi, which was a flourishing seaport on the west coast of southern Italy. The Moslem ruler gave his consent and the members proved Good Samaritans indeed in looking after the poor and sick pilgrims.

These knights were a distinctively religious organization and bound by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. They were under the special protection of the Papal See, by a bull from Pope Paschal II which, in 1113, confirmed the Order in the possessions held in Syria and western Europe. By and by the organization was extended to the armed protection of pilgrims journeying from the seaports to Jerusalem. Thus the Knights of St.

John became a military body, sworn to defend the Holy Sepulcher to the death and to make continual warfare upon infidels. When Saladin captured the Holy City, the knights settled in Acre (1191). A century later they were driven out by the Moslem to Cyprus, and in 1310 they captured Rhodes and several neighboring islands from the Greek and Moslem pirates. Becoming known as "Knights of Rhodes," they waged successful war for two hundred years against the Turks. The Order through spoliation became very wealthy. There were three classes of the brethren—knights, chaplains and serving brothers—the last acting as "squires" of the knights in warfare. In the days of their greatest prosperity, the Hospitallers owned thousands of manors in different parts of Europe. They maintained with much state the priory at Clerkenwell in London until the religious orders were repressed by Henry VIII.

The more famous Knights Templars, thus named because of their house at Jerusalem, near the site of Solomon's Temple, were founded in 1118, by a Burgundian knight, Hugues de Payen, and eight French knights, with the purpose of protecting poor pilgrims against Moslem attacks. They made a magnificent record. No knight was ever known to show lack of courage in battle or to make dishonorable terms with the Moslem. It is estimated that 20,000 members died fighting in Palestine during



their two centuries of existence, and of the twenty-two grand masters, seven fell in battle and five more died from wounds. The seat of the Templars in Palestine was Acre, where the ruins of the immense castle may still be seen. Their enormous wealth and the secrecy of their proceedings aroused much jealousy among ecclesiastics and laymen. The end of the Order was appalling. Philip le Bel of France, coveting their wealth, attacked it in 1307. Under the torture of the Inquisition some of the knights made confessions. In Paris alone thirty-six of them died under indescribable suffering, and in May, 1310, fifty-four who refused to perjure themselves were slowly burned to death in Paris. Although England persecuted the Order she was more merciful, the last master dying as a prisoner in the Tower.

The Teutonic Knights had a similar origin with the two other military Orders, at the beginning of the twelfth century. The first seat was at Acre, but in 1291 it was transferred to Venice, and later to Marienburg, near Danzig. After a changeful career the Order was suppressed by Napoleon in 1809.

The making of a knight began early. He was taken when seven years old into the castle of some baron as a page and carefully drilled in athletic exercises, the use of weapons, and horsemanship. This continued for seven years, during which he was trained in courtesy, especially to ladies, and in

implicit obedience to his superiors. He became squire upon reaching the age of fourteen. Then with elaborate ceremonies and preparations, in which were included a bath, fasting, a night-watch or vigil, the confession of sins and holy communion, he was clothed in a white robe and created a knight. This was always done by another knight, who bound him by oath to defend the Church, to protect virtuous women, to be loyal to his prince and to relieve suffering and redress wrong whenever and wherever the opportunity offered. The buckling on of gilt spurs (the origin of the expression "winning his spurs"), and the girding with a sword, solemnly blessed by the priest as it lay upon the altar, were followed by kneeling and by his "dubbing" or "striking" a knight in the laying of the flat of a sword on his right shoulder. This ceremony and an embrace with arms around the neck constituted the "accolade." He was thus created a knight in the name of God, of St. George, and of St. Michael the archangel, or the Three Persons of the Trinity.